

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SECTARIANISM: RITUAL, RESISTANCE AND HIERARCHY IN KH. QUMRAN

Summary

The archeological record from kh. Qumran is examined without regard to the scrolls in order to understand the 'ideology' of the inhabitants and whether they can be defined as a sect. The enormous quantity of tableware indicates ritualization of meals to the exclusion of others (implying strong social boundaries), a practice that is common among elite groups. Resistance is manifested in the animal bone deposits which attest to meat consumption as a sacred ritual. Resistance is also expressed by the distinctive and identical mode of burial. Social hierarchy and ritualization are indicated by ritual baths with multiple partitions. Several rings may also indicate the presence of women. In conclusion, the rituals and resistance are consistent with sectarian ideology. The connection between the inhabitants of kh. Qumran and the *Yahad* sect is probable, although not necessarily direct.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Current Debate

KH. QUMRAN is probably the most controversial archeological site in the ancient Levant. Since the early 1990s scholars have been ardently debating whether to accept or reject Roland de Vaux's conclusion that kh. Qumran was the dwelling place of "the Qumran community," or the Essenes. De Vaux (1973) indicated several phenomena in support of his view that kh. Qumran was inhabited by a community with a distinctive religious character and unique ritual practices: the large dining room, the relative absence of women in the cemetery, and the animal bones (remains of ritual meals) buried in vessels. Many contemporary archaeologists as well as most Dead Sea Scrolls scholars follow de Vaux (Laperrousaz 1976; Broshi 1992; Rohrhirsch 1996; Magness 2002; Vanderkam and Flint 2002: 34-54; Murphy 2002: 293-360; and in part also Humbert 1994; 2003c).

Recently, however, this “consensual” view has been challenged by new “non-consensual” theories that questioned the link between kh. Qumran and the scrolls. Golb (1995: 12-41, 280-285) argued that the tower and the arrowheads indicate that kh. Qumran was a military fortress. Donceel and Donceel Voûte (1994; Donceel Voûte 1994; Donceel 1997; 1999) published new data on pottery and glassware, concluding that the rich findings at the site cannot be associated with “monastic simplicity” but rather with a *villa rustica*. Hirschfeld (1998; 2004) pointed to similarities between kh. Qumran and other Judaen manor houses, viewing it as an agricultural estate, a view which is also maintained by Kapera (1996), Zangenberg (2004), and partially supported by Humbert (1994, 170-174; 2003a; 2003b). Cansdale and Crown (1994; Cansdale 1997: 114-124, 196) suggested that the site functioned as an inn or way station on the main road to Jerusalem. Following their own recent excavations at the site, Magen and Peleg (2006; 2007) suggested that the site was a pottery production center.

In response to these new interpretations, the consensualists maintained that the ceramics and architecture are too simplistic for a villa (Magness 1994); the many ritual baths attest to special concern for ritual purity; no natural resources existed near the site to support an agricultural estate; the site is in an isolated location, namely, no road connected Qumran to Ein Gedi (Broshi 1998; 1999; 2000; Broshi and Eshel 2004; 2006); and the relative absence of female skeletons in the cemetery supports the identification of the inhabitants with the celibate Essenes (Zias 2000).

1.2. *Proposed Method (1): Archaeology without Scrolls*

Currently it seems that the question of who inhabited kh. Qumran remains unresolved since neither group of scholars is able to convince the other. The main debate is whether or not the archaeological findings correspond with the scrolls (and particularly, *IQS*, the so-called *Community Rule* of the *Yahad* sect) or the descriptions of the Essenes. The consensualists are criticized for basing their analysis of the site on scrolls found in the nearby caves (Davies 1996; Ullmann-Margalit 2006: 45-49, 86, 92-112; compare de Vaux 1973: 29-33, 47-48, 103-105, 110-111, 130).

But the consensualists are not the only ones who based their conclusion on their interpretation of the textual evidence. The “non-consensual” views are also based, perhaps unconsciously, on a certain interpretation of the way of life of the *Yahad* or the Essenes. For example, the relatively rich pottery and decorations, and the site’s location on a road near the Dead Sea are considered contradictory to the ascetic lifestyle of these sectarians. (1)

(1) Thus, for example, Cansdale (1997: 161) and Hirschfeld (2003: 142-143)

Both groups expect a correspondence between the material findings and what they believe to be the character of the *Yahad* or the Essenes. While the “consensualists” highlight the similarities between the scrolls and the archaeological record in order to identify kh. Qumran with the *Yahad* or the Essenes, the “non-consensualists” stress the differences, inferring the absence of relationship between kh. Qumran and the scrolls.

This customary expectation that the archaeological findings should match *IQS* (or Josephus’ portrait of the Essenes), however, presents several problems. The relationship between text and artifact is rather complex and one should not expect a simple correspondence between the two, for several reasons:

(1) Chronological discrepancies: While de Vaux (1973: 5) and his followers (cf. Laperrousaz 1976: 29-33) believed that the Second Temple phase of kh. Qumran began during the leadership of John Hyrcanus (late second century BCE), recent studies have concluded that the site was occupied only in the first half of the first century BCE (Magness 2002: 63-66; Doudna 1999; Magen and Peleg 2006: 68; cf. Bar-Nathan 2006: 277). The composition of the *Community Rule*, however, is quite earlier. The script of the *Community Rule of IQS* is dated around 100 BCE. The version of the *Community Rule* from Cave 4 indicates that portions of the *Community Rule* were composed some time earlier (Metso 1997: 14, 143-155), presumably 50-75 years before kh. Qumran was occupied. Therefore, the laws and rituals of the *Yahad*, found in the *Community Rule* preceded the inhabitants of kh. Qumran by about two generations, at the very least. Some changes in the ideology, rules and life style of the successors or later followers of the *Yahad* may have occurred during this period, if they were the people who inhabited the site (similar reasoning relates to the Essenes, described by Philo and Josephus by the middle or end of the first century CE, long after the settlement at kh. Qumran was established).

(2) The discrepancy between ideology and reality: When declared ideology and law are translated into daily practice, some changes occur, which can explain why actual practices, reflected by the archeological evidence, may not be identical to the texts.

(3) The limitations of material culture: when general ideological agendas and regulations are manifested in concrete material culture, some phenomena may not be observable in the material record while others may be overemphasized because they are easily traced in an excavation. Some significant findings may lack a parallel in the writ-

argued that the many coins (a total of 1234, cf. the list in Murphy 2002: 305-317) found by de Vaux could not have belonged to the Essenes who “opposed wealth and commerce.” Cansdale suggested they were Temple dues collected at the site, or simply represented trade, and Hirschfeld proposed that they belonged to the owner of the manor house.

ten sources simply because historical sources are selective by nature and cannot be expected to refer to all existing social practices. As a result, the correlations between text and artifact are complex, and interpreting the findings according to written sources may be misleading.

Indeed, the current preoccupation in attempting to interpret kh. Qumran in light of the literary evidence (e.g. Magness 2002) or against it might distract our attention from archaeological data that has no direct parallel in the scrolls, and from concentrating on a more thorough examination of the material evidence. Instead, I suggest approaching the problem from a new direction, concentrating on an independent analysis of the material evidence, without relating to the scrolls and without expecting a *prima facie* correspondence with the textual sources. I suggest studying the artifacts from periods I (including Ia and Ib) and II in kh. Qumran (2) in order to discover patterns of social organization such as rituals and gender representation and ideological patterns such as resistance. It may be interesting to discover whether the resulting image of kh. Qumran's inhabitants corresponds with the view that kh. Qumran was a dwelling place of a secluded community such as the *Yahad* sect, or with the "normative" social lifestyle of a private villa or a manor house estate.

1.3. Proposed Method (2): Social Archaeology

Unfortunately, there are no clear-cut criteria or models for identifying a sect according to its material culture. It is therefore necessary to thoroughly examine the material record in kh. Qumran and compare it to other contemporaneous sites. Any exceptional phenomena occurring in relation to the type of vessels and artifacts at the site or their use should be analyzed in order to determine whether they correspond with sectarian ideology as defined by sociologists, or certain social structure and rituals. In the absence of such irregularities, it

(2) The present discussion follows de Vaux's (1973: 24) assertion regarding the continuation of period Ib to period II: "the general plan remained, in effect, the same, and the principal elements were put to use once more for the purposes for which they had originally been intended...only secondary modifications were introduced to the buildings." De Vaux also referred to the continued use of the "refectory" (L77) and the animal bone deposits and the potter's workshop (*ibid.*, 13, 16, 26-28; cf. also the plans, *ibid.*, plates VI, XVII; for the bones in both periods see also Magen and Peleg 2007: 43), and I would also add the numerous and large ritual baths. Another feature common to both periods is the abundance of pottery. The enormous amount of pottery in the storage rooms of L89 (over 1000 vessels) is from period Ib (31 BCE) and those of L114 (about 200 vessels) are probably from ca. 9/8 BCE (Magness 2002: 125). De Vaux's also stated "the pottery from period II is very plentiful." Several suggestions regarding the different functions of the site in periods I or II (Humbert 1994; 2003c; Hirschfeld 2003: esp. 59; Magen and Peleg 2007: 55-58) are based, in my opinion, on merely tentative or speculative reconstructions of the architectural development of the site rather than on archaeological data.

would be reasonable to conclude that there are no markers of sectarianism in kh. Qumran. Henceforth I will examine the types and quantity of pottery documented in de Vaux's field notes (Humbert and Chambon 1994: 291-341; de Vaux 2003), the deposits of animal bones stored in or covered by vessels, the burials, ritual baths and rings (again, due to the lack of a final report, I will use the data in de Vaux's field notes,).

Theories, methods and specific relevant case studies from the field of social archaeology are used to interpret these findings and determine whether they are consistent with the social characteristics of a sectarian community. Social archaeology (including anthropological and historical archaeology) is now an established field of research which uses archaeological records to reconstruct the belief system and social organization of past societies (Hodder 1982; Miller and Tilley 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 103-171; Hodder and Huston 2003; Meskell and Preucel 2004). It provides theoretical criteria and practical methods to identify and interpret particular ideologies, social structures, rituals, etc. in a given archaeological record following sociological and anthropological theories, particularly structural and post-structural anthropology. My use of social archaeology includes the study of dining, feasts and resistance, as well as the general manifestation of ideology in material culture. My application of social archaeology also includes comparisons of the findings from kh. Qumran with similar phenomena of resistance and the ritualization of the meal in other distinct cultures. Recognizing that archaeological science is the study of material *culture*, such comparisons between similar phenomena in different cultures seem necessary (e.g., Trigger 2004).

To gain a better understanding of the archaeology of sectarianism I also make some specific comparisons with the material culture of several sects from early-modern North America. Although remote in time and space, such comparisons are necessary in order to refrain from oversimplifications regarding the characteristics of the material culture typical of sects. (3) Finally, I compare the results of my analysis with the evidence of the scrolls.

2. Pottery, Meals and Ritual: Interpreting De Vaux's Field Notes

2.1. Quantifying the Pottery of kh. Qumran: The Abundance of Tableware

De Vaux never submitted a synthesis of the ceramic evidence (cf. the concise presentation in de Vaux 1956: 551-563), and his successors did not publish a report of the pottery. Nonetheless, extensive raw data is found in de Vaux's recently published field notes, de-

(3) On the comparative method, its advantages and limitations see Regev 2007: 23-25 and the cited references.

scribing the findings in each locus (Humbert and Chambon 1994: 291-341; ET de Vaux 2003; cf. Magness 2006). Although de Vaux did not make precise comments regarding the exact pottery type (e.g., eastern sigillata, etc.), the number of shreds and the exact location of the vessels within the locus in his field notes, he did mention the general type of each vessel and the number of vessels of each type found in every locus. This source of data has never been analyzed before, and may contribute to our understanding of how these vessels were used by the inhabitants.

The following analysis presents the number of vessels according to their general typology and function, in an attempt to reveal distinctive patterns and indications of the special character of the inhabitants' meals. In order to explore the uniqueness of the Qumran pottery, the data provided by de Vaux is compared with the quantity of different types of pottery found in contemporaneous sites. My interpretation of the ceramic evidence indicates the character of the social activity represented by the vessels following socio-anthropological studies on meals, food, ritual and consumption.

The number of vessels listed by de Vaux, which are related mostly to periods I (including Ia and Ib) and II, namely the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, is *about 2100*. (4) To this one should add 71 pieces of glassware (Donceel and Donceel Voûte 1994: 7, 12), several stone vessels, as well as "thousands of vessels and pottery fragments" found by Magen and Peleg (2006: 64, 68-71; 2007: 15-21). De Vaux probably listed only intact and restorable vessels, (5) hence the number of vessels in Qumran is impressive in comparison to other sites, keeping in mind that it represents a fully

(4) De Vaux's field notes are arranged by loci and list all findings found in a given locus with minimal stratigraphic comments. It is therefore difficult to isolate the data relevant to periods I and II from the Israelite periods and period III, especially since many loci were used throughout all these periods. While the pottery is yet to be published, a preliminary quantification and typology which support the following observations were presented by Burdajewicz in *ASOR Newsletter*. Burdajewicz (2001: 14) counted 3922 diagnostic shreds and additional 447 body shreds from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Burdajewicz counted only 270 diagnostic shreds from the Iron Age period (of a total of 360 shreds), hence the ceramic findings from this period are relatively marginal (cf. de Vaux 1973: 1-3). Burdajewicz did not distinguish between periods I, II and III. In my quantification, I did not include the findings from loci which are related solely to period III, the phase in which kh. Qumran served as a Roman military camp, that is, loci 3, 14-16, 20-23, 26-27, 31, 43 and 60 (cf. de Vaux 1973: 41-44; 2003: 3-7; Taylor 2006). De Vaux (1973, 44) already noted "the scarcity of pottery" of this period. Unfortunately, due to the lack of a final report, in most of the loci it is currently impossible to distinguish between the vessels of periods I and II (see also n. 2 above).

(5) De Vaux did not explain his method of quantification. Both Jodi Magness and Stephen Pfann (personal communication) have the impression that he counted intact and restorable vessels (cf. also Magness 2004f: 53 n. 14). In any event, it is unlikely that he counted individual shreds of vessel as separate items ("bowl", "plate" etc.) since on several occasions he simply noted "potsherds" (e.g., loci 3, 105, 110, 114, 121, 126, 129 and 134) without quantification. For the problem of estimating

excavated site of about 4500 m² (Broshi 2000: 734) that had been occupied over a period of about 150 years. (6)

In order to better understand the ceramic assemblage and examine its uses, I classified the pottery described by de Vaux by function: tableware (bowls, plates, cups and goblets (7)), storage vessels (jars and jugs) and cooking vessels (pots and “terrines,” namely, kraters (8)). A similar method was used by Andrea Berlin (1999a; 1999b; 2006) to understand the general social character of the people who used the vessels and their attitude towards food. Historical archaeologists use this method more sophisticatedly to trace social patterns such as consumption practices, social structure and ideology (Yentsch 1991; Little 1997; Shackel 2000).

The results are astonishing. 84% of the vessels listed in de Vaux's field notes are tableware, 9% are storage vessels, and the cooking pots and “terrines” represent only 7% of the total ceramic assemblage. (9) Part of these extraordinary results is due to the discovery of two storage rooms containing tableware. In L86 (L89 in de Vaux 1956: 554; 2003: 41-42) the “pantry,” destroyed by the earthquake of 31 BCE and adjacent to the long dining hall L77, 732 bowls, 211 plates, 84 cups and 12 jugs were found (as well as 21 jars, 38 terrines and one pot). In L114, another possible storage room

quantities of pottery, see Berlin 2006: 8-9, 97-99, 130-132. Thus, for example, in the excavations at Gamla, areas B/D and R (encompassing 103 rooms), 1717 restorable vessels were found, while the total number of shreds (“all baskets”) was 14078 (Berlin 2006: 6). Assuming that most of the vessels listed by de Vaux were intact or restorable, most of them were probably related to the destruction phases of the earthquake of 31 BCE, the fire in ca. 9/8 BCE (Magness 2002: 125) and the Roman conquest of 68 CE. This may serve a partial explanation for the large number of vessels found by de Vaux.

(6) In Ein Boqueq's *oficina*, where pottery was used for local the local production of perfumes and other products, 463 vessels were counted (Fisher, Gichon and Tal 2000: 30); in the Temples of Banias, in the richest period, the Late Roman, Berlin (1999a: 36-41) counted 989 vessels (not including 2930 lamps!); in Tel Anafa's second century BCE affluent villa, there were 3152 vessels (Berlin 1999b: 51-52); for Gamla, see previous note.

(7) Excluding a few large bowls which were probably used for the preparation of food and some 21 juglets, some of which were probably used to store perfumes and ointments. The 62 jugs are regarded here as storage vessels although at least some of them were probably used as tableware.

(8) “Terrine” is Pfann's translation of de Vaux's “jatte”, which is a deep bowl, basin or krater (Magness 2006: 263). It may be classified as either a serving vessel or one designated for the preparation of drinks or food (cf. de Vaux 1956: 554-555, fig.2.2, 557 fig. 3.14). Since there are 62 terrines the number of tableware may have been even larger than my present estimation.

(9) Burdajewicz (2001) classified 60.3% of the pottery of Hellenistic and Early Roman periods as table vessels for individual eating and drinking. There are also unguentaria and jugs which were used to serve wine etc. This lower percentage is still much higher than at any comparable site I was able to examine. Burdajewicz's unpublished typology may represent incomplete numbers since it is currently uncertain whether *all* the diagnostic pottery from the site was saved and is still available for examination.

ruined by fire ca. 9/8 BCE (the vessels possibly fell from an upper dining room above loci 111, 120-123, cf. Magness 2002: 125), 136 bowls (some may be designated as plates), 42 cups, 1 jug and 2 juglets (as well as 2 jars and 2 terrines and a large quantity of potsherds) were found. (10)

The extremely large amount of tableware, however, is not limited to loci 86 and 114. Vessels were scattered in many other loci throughout the site, including 460 plates, bowls and cups; excluding the two storage loci, *65.5% of the vessels in all the loci are tableware*. The distribution of vessels according to de Vaux's field notes reveals that meals were not limited to the large dining room(s). (11) The extremely large amount of tableware is therefore an integral characteristic of the entire kh. Qumran site.

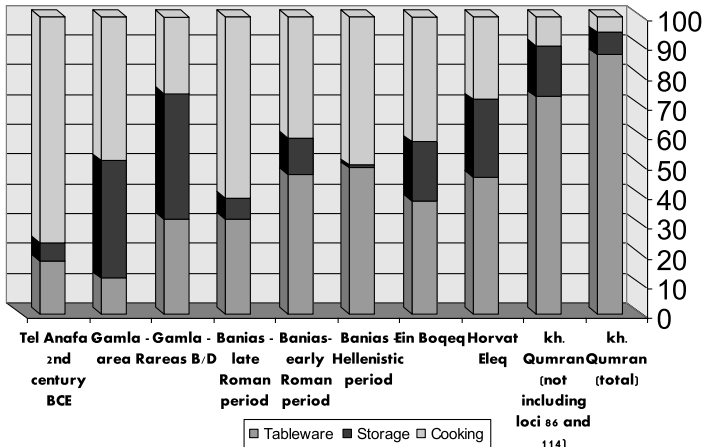
In order to appreciate these results, they should be compared to the percentage of tableware in other contemporaneous sites from Judaea: 32% in Gamla areas B/D, and 12% in area R (Berlin 2006: 6); 49% in the temples of Banias, in the Hellenistic period, 47% in the early Roman period, 32% in the late Roman period, all of which are mostly cultic dedications or the remains of ritual meals (Berlin 1999a); 18% in Tel Anafa in the second century BCE (Berlin 1999b: 50-54); 34% in 'Ein Boqeq's *officina* (Fisher, Gichon and Tal 2000: 30); 46% in the published pottery tables of Ḥorvat'Eleq (Ramat Hanadiv) (Silberstein 2000; cf. also Cohen 2000). (12) As **Figure 1**

(10) The data follows de Vaux's field notes (de Vaux 2003: 42, 50). In his preliminary discussion, de Vaux (1956: 554-555, 558-559) provided lower figures (perhaps rendering only complete vessels). Magness (2004b: 91, 103) listed in L86 (de Vaux's L89), 279 shallow carinated bowls with flaring rims (de Vaux's plates), 798 hemispherical cups (de Vaux's bowls), and 150 deep cups with thin walls and flaring rims, and in L114, 39 shallow open bowls with incurved rims, 111 hemispherical cups, 9 deep cups with thin walls and flaring rims. Magness referred to de Vaux 1956: 554-555, 558-559 where, again, the numbers of vessels are substantially lower. For L114 and its chronology, see Magness 2004b: 103-106.

(11) An assemblage of at least 10 tableware vessels, attesting to dining, perhaps occasional, were found in loci 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, 41/38, 77, 112 and 126. Concentrations of storage jars were found in loci 1, 2, 4, 32 and 77, but most jars were found in open areas (loci 52, 80, 81, 124, 130). Three or more cooking pots were found in loci 6(4 pots), 45(4), 59 (3 and a casserole) and 101 (3). Note that several ovens were discovered at the site: in his field notes, de Vaux mentioned ovens in loci 2(?), 12(x2), 38/41 (x3) (cf. Humbert and Chambon 1994: fig. ix and photo 38) and 125.

(12) Berlin (1999b) did not specify the method of quantification in Tel Anafa, but it is probably based on her own extremely detailed examination and quantification of different ceramic types (Berlin 1997). The results from Banias are based on identifiable fragments or complete vessels; "diagnostic fragments that joined to make a single vessel... were counted as one but individual body shreds were not counted" (Berlin 1999a: 30, 43 n. 4). In 'Ein Boqeq "all rims were taken into account... care was taken to avoid analyzing more than one rim from the same vessel (Fisher, Gichon and Tal 2000: 30, cf. 29). The data from Ḥorvat'Eleq is based on the published plates which merely represent all types of vessels (Silberstein 2000: 420) and is used only for illustration. Nonetheless, the relative amount of tableware types may be relevant,

Figure 1. Proportion of *tableware* in comparison to cooking and storage vessels



demonstrates, nowhere does the proportion of tableware come close to the high percentage of 84% in kh. Qumran; this is also true for Horvat Eleq and Tel Anafa, whose wealthy inhabitants used bath houses and imported wares. The enormous proportion of tableware cannot be mistaken or coincidental, and demands an explanation. Can it contribute a new perspective to the debate of whether kh. Qumran was a sectarian community center or a villa/manor house/fortress?

2.2. Previous Explanations: Purity Restrictions or Pottery Industry

Magness' explanation for the abundance of tableware at kh. Qumran is that the inhabitants were extremely scrupulous regarding laws of ritual purity. Since defiled pottery vessels cannot be purified, they needed new vessels to replace those which were disposed of. This would also correspond to the large number of ritual baths. (13)

especially since one should expect more variation among tableware rather than storage and cooking vessels. It should be noted that bowls were not very common, but there were many mortarium fragments (Silberstein 2000: 438, 441).

(13) Magness (2004b: 92, 98) suggested that hundreds of ceramic dishes were necessary due to the practice of burying animal bones in vessels, and due to the sectarian belief that food and drink transmit impurity which required separate dishes for each member. However, according to de Vaux's field notes, the "lists of objects" in loci 130 and 132 (the animal bone deposits) contained 41 tableware, 20 cooking vessels and 8 storage vessels. In his excavation notes of L130 (which also include addi-

However, the fact that hundreds of tableware were found intact and carefully arranged in the storerooms in loci 86 and 114 may indicate that the vessels in each of these storerooms were used in a single period and probably used simultaneously. Many of the other vessels were found in contexts which do not appear to be dump sites (e.g., in L30, the so-called scriptorium, in which 6 plates, a goblet, a saucer, 2 pots, and a jar were found, de Vaux 2003: 23-24). If vessels were defiled and disposed of in such large amounts, this practice should have made an imprint on the archaeological record. Moreover, since cooking and storage vessels were also subject to impurity restrictions, purity considerations do not explain why cooking pots and jars were so scarce in comparison to tableware.

Magen and Peleg (2006: 100, 106-107; 2007; cf. Cansdale 1997: 154-155; Zangenberg 2004) suggested that kh. Qumran was pottery production center, that is, most of the vessels were not made for local use but rather for commercial use. They supported their view with several findings: the pottery kilns and potter's wheels in loci 64-66 (De Vaux 1973: 16-17); the considerable pottery waste; many unbroken vessels; and above all, the huge amounts of clay vessels (Magen and Peleg 2006: 64, 68). Bar-Nathan (2006: 272 n. 31) also subscribed to this view, commenting that "it is possible that the so-called refectory with adjacent "pantry" is associated with ceramic production. In that case, the larger hall would have been used as the workshop to accommodate the potter's wheels as well as for drying the pottery, and the small room would have served as the storage area for the vessels." Magen and Peleg (2006: 68, 88-89, 92) also maintained that several of the extremely large baths in loci 58, 68 and 91 as well as L118 were not ritual baths but rainwater reservoirs used to process clay used in pottery production. In the same vein, the presence of staircases in these baths is also explained as means of facilitating clay collection.

At first glance, this characterization of kh. Qumran seems interesting. One cannot deny that pottery was manufactured at the site, as the kilns and potter's wheels clearly indicate. However, this does not explain why 84% of all ceramic ware were table vessels. (14) It is not

tional indicative shreds) de Vaux mentioned at least 14 tableware, 17 storage vessels and 3 cooking vessels (de Vaux 2003: 55-58). These relatively low numbers of discarded vessels do not justify Magness' conclusion. Moreover, in these loci the percentage of tableware is much lower than in the other parts of the site, hence this discarded pottery cannot explain the abundance of tableware.

(14) The pottery production center theory (particularly Bar-Nathan's) was already considered and rejected by de Vaux (1973: 12), commenting on the findings in L86: "this was not the community's store-room for pottery in general since many of the forms in the current use, frequently found elsewhere in the ruins, are missing here, such as the large jars, the lids, the pots, the juglets, the lamps, etc. It was not in any ordinary sense an annex to the potter's workshop since that is situated in another area. This store must have a connection with a use to which the main room adjoining

very likely that the local potters specialized exclusively in the manufacture of cups and bowls. Even if they did, this does not explain why 65% of the vessels scattered throughout the site (excluding the storerooms in loci 86 and 114), probably for conventional daily use, are tableware. The distribution of tableware in these other loci indicates that these vessels were in daily use (even if they were not found *in situ*).

Furthermore, although the limited number of vessels tested using neutron-activation analysis and petro-graphical tests does not permit statistical conclusions, two thirds of the tested vessels were not made from local clay (Yellin, Broshi and Eshel 2001; Gunneweg 2003; Gunneweg and Balla 2003; Michniewicz and Krzyśko 2003), among them were vessels from the storerooms L86 and L 114 (Gunneweg and Balla 2003: 14, 16, 17, 21). While it is not impossible that manufacturers brought clay from outside, the existence of multiple sources of clay (Jerusalem, Jericho, Motza, Beit 'Ummar, and other unidentified sites) implies that many of the vessels were not locally made. (15) The pottery production center theory therefore cannot be sustained, and the question remains: why did the inhabitants use such an exceptional amount of tableware?

2.3. *Tableware, Dining and Ritual in Anthropological Perspective*

A useful starting point for understanding the uniqueness of the Qumranic ceramic assemblage was proposed by Magness (2004b: 91). Magness commented that the vessels found in L86 attest to “a complete table service,” and that “the large number and uniformity of the dishes points to communal meals with many participants,” (referring to Josephus’ comment that each Essene member has his own individual plate, *War* 2.130). Magness (2004b: 92, 98) rightly concluded that the inhabitants did not follow the pattern of common dishes in which they all dipped their bread. (16) Magness regarded the Qumranic practice as a result of considerations of purity.

While Magness regarded the large amount of tableware as indicative of individual dishes for all members, the number of vessels discovered on the site surely exceeds the number of diners. While 375 plates were found, more than 220 cups and 1087 bowls (probably containing both solid and liquid food) were also discovered. “One

it was put. ... these vessels comprise everything that would be needed for meals.... This then was the crockery, stored near the assembly room.” One may also mention that L77 is inaccessible from the kilns and potter’s wheels in loci 64-66, hence it would extremely difficult to remove the vessels into L77.

(15) Gunneweg and Balla (2003: 24) also commented that the great number of many different styles of cups demonstrate that they could not have been the work of a single group of potters.

(16) Eating from a communal dish, or sharing a plate with another person was also a common practice of medieval table manners (Shackel 1993: 144-145).

dish for one individual” cannot explain why 732 bowls were found in L86, 136 bowls were in use in L114, while another 219 bowls, 146 plates and 94 cups were scattered in loci other than 86 and 114. The site was hardly adequate for several hundred inhabitants. Most of the rooms were relatively small, and the corridors and passages were narrow, except for L77 ($22 \times 4.5 \text{m} = 99 \text{m}^2$), which was probably a dining hall, where no more than a 100-150 people could have gathered for a meal. (17) It is therefore apparent that the number of bowls, cups or plates in periods I and II far exceeded the number of potential users. On the other hand, the actual placing of the vessels in different store-rooms and throughout the site indicates that the vessels were indeed used and hundreds of them were used simultaneously. But what was the purpose?

The use of more than one dish, probably more than one bowl, one cup and one plate by any single individual at a time, attests to a distinctive mode of dining. It is possible that each diner had used at least one plate, one bowl and one cup at a certain meal, hence during that meal food may have been served in separate vessels, representing different courses. Alternatively, we may postulate that different kinds of food and drink may have been served in different vessels, at different meals. This means that food consumption and dining were highly regulated, reflecting a special structure. Hence, great significance was attributed to meals in kh. Qumran, and special attention was devoted to details which is consistent with ritual dining. The abundance of tableware points to the structuring and ritualization of the meal. Given the plausibility that L77 was a dining hall (due to its proximity to the “pantry” in L86, cf. de Vaux 1973: 11-13), we may conclude that the inhabitants of kh. Qumran conducted ritual meals with many participants.

Indeed, the ceramic assemblage at kh. Qumran bears several “archaeological signatures of feasts” (Hayden 2001: 40): (1) an unusual number of serving vessels (2) several animal bone dumps which indicate that meat was consumed quite frequently in a symbolic or ritualistic manner (see below) (3) central community spaces (L77, and according to Pfann 2006 and Magness 2004b: 105-106 perhaps also loci 120-123 near the “pantry” of L114), and (4) an exceptional number of more than 80 goblets in loci other than 86 and 114, which may have been used as ritual vessels for the ritual consumption of alcohol or *tirosh*. All these seem to indicate “complexification” of food consumption patterns through a marked symbolic emphasis on

(17) Cf. Broshi 1992: 113-114. The number of inhabitants at the site is debated, with estimates ranging from a maximum number of approximately 200, including its surrounding caves and possibly, tents and huts (Laperrousaz 1976: 99-107; Magness 2002: 70-71; Broshi and Eshel 1999), to minimal estimates of 50 individuals (Patrich 2000), 20-30 (Magen and Peleg (2006: 99, pointing to the limited number of cooking and baking ovens), 30 (Hirschfeld 2006: 229) or even 15 at the site itself (Humbert 1994: 176, 193).

distinctions (Dietler 2001: 90). That is, meals included special marks of differentiation and distinction characteristic of rituals related to the foodstuff, vessels, and location of the meal, probably bearing substantial social and symbolic meanings beyond merely functional nutrition. I suggest that they may be identified as “solidarity feasts” (cf. Hayden 2001: 38).

It is possible to make additional inferences from this data about the social characteristics of the meals in Qumran, and consequently, to the social character of the diners. I suggest interpreting the large amount of tableware in light of anthropological studies about meals as well as case studies regarding ceramic assemblage and feasts discussed by anthropological archaeologists and historical archaeologists.

First, it should be noted that food has important social functions beyond mere nutrition. Food is a system of signs and symbols, and a medium of communication (Lévi Strauss 1973; Barthes 1973; Douglas 1975). Second, the actual act of sharing a meal with others promotes solidarity (Goody 1982: 12; Gransey 1999: 6, 128, 133). Communal meals, that is, when dining creates commensality in a certain kind of ritual, also exclude others, since “to eat an equal share is to produce and reproduce civic equality” (Loraux 1981: 620). Food then serves as an indicator of status distinctions, power, and group separateness and belonging (Hendon 2003; Gransey 1999: 6-7, 62-81); feasts mark social boundaries between groups, status and categories (Dietler 2001: 88-90). The Christian Eucharist and the Jewish Passover *seder* are familiar examples. The two pottery storerooms in kh. Qumran and the plausibility that L77 served as a public dining room suggest that the inhabitants developed a high degree of commensality. In dining together, they were not only demonstrating their solidarity and social cohesion as a community, but the acts and rituals related to meals served to separate their interior world from the external world that was excluded from the meals (Bordieu 1984: 177-208, esp. 196; cf. Douglas 1975).

The high percentage of tableware used in kh. Qumran is important in understanding that food consumption is a mechanism which creates social hierarchy and consequently elitism. Food is an index of status and relative power (Gransey 1999: 6), and feasting reflects status quest, prestige and power (Wiessner and Shiefenhövel 1996; Dieter and Hayden 2001). A strongly hierarchical cuisine (dividing the meal into courses served in a given order, etc.) reflects a pronounced social hierarchy, characterized by sharply contrasting styles of life (Goody 1982: 99, 153). The structure of the meal and food processes social ranking.

For example, in Greco-Roman *haute cuisine* a variety and enhancement of food signaled prestige and marked social distinction (Gransey 1999: 113). A large amount of vessels related to food serv-

ing and ritual among the Mayan Copan elite in Copan Valley shows that elite groups engaged in special consumption and production in their residential compounds, making visible their claim to social distinction and prestige. These circles of consumption and feasting served to define elitism by excluding commoners (Hendon 2003). Shackel (1993) demonstrated that functional diversity of ceramics in an assemblage from early modern Annapolis, Maryland, indicates increasing segmentation at the table, which reinforced a new standardized way of eating. Behavior that standardizes and segments requires one dish per person and a variety of dish sizes for different courses in the meal (*ibid.* 5, 101-102). This highly formalized mode of dining, which also included rules for how and what is eaten, served as the center of social ritual among the elite (*ibid.* 56-57). "This consumption pattern may have been a way for the elite to reassert their domination" (*ibid.* 115), where disciplining material goods was used by the elite to reaffirm their position in the hierarchy (*ibid.* 124-125, 152; cf. Little 1997; for the consumption of goods as creating domination or hegemony, see Douglas and Isherwood 1978).

Hence, when people share a highly structured meal with substantial ritual markers they seem to claim certain distinction or superiority over others, thereby acting as an elite. The Qumran inhabitants dined as an elite group, regarding themselves as socially (or religiously) superior to outsiders. Although they were already geographically remote or socially detached from any other community, especially the Jewish elites in Jerusalem or Jericho, the fact that they stressed their distinction or superiority through the ritualization of meals attests to the significance the inhabitants attached to this sense of elitism. I would also add that the hierarchical pattern of their dining may also attest to different hierarchies between the diners themselves. Their meals may have also played a role in the internal status distinctions between the diners themselves (who eats with whom, what meals and foods, when and where).

2.4. *Ritual Meals, Elitism and Sectarianism*

I have attempted to show that the abundance of tableware in kh. Qumran may be related to a complex hierarchical structure of ritual meals in which participants emphasized their social solidarity and the exclusion of outsiders. This pattern of behavior is characteristic of elite groups who stress their special status or superiority. Admittedly, a certain degree of elitism and social separation may be related to a villa, or a private village where the inhabitants sometimes maintained their self-identity (for these types of settlements, cf. Faust 2005; Safrai 1998). However, the extremely high proportion of tableware at the site points to an exceptional *ritualization* of the meal, and an outstanding attempt to achieve *social exclusiveness*. The total number of

more than 1600 tableware is also much higher than one would expect for a villa, farmstead or small village of ca. 4500m². This is demonstrated by comparing it to the proportion and total number of tableware found at the rich villas of Tel Anafa and Ḥorvat'Eleq (see above). We should therefore look for another explanation for the exceptional abundance of tableware.

Indeed, emphasis on elitist self-identity which excludes others is characteristic of all sects. Sects conceive themselves as an elect group or remnant, possessing special enlightenment, including a monopoly over the complete religious truth and claiming personal perfection (Wilson 1959, 4; 1982, 91-93). Sects adhere to separation from the outside world and the norms of the surrounding society, and also enhance rituals which distinguish themselves from others (Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 49-60; cf. Regev 50-57, 269-300). Thus, the character of the meals reflected in the tableware found at kh. Qumran is consistent with the social features of a sect.

4. Resistance in Kh. Qumran?

4.1. Resistance and Sectarian Ideology

Identifying resistance may allow us to trace a sectarian ideology of seclusion in the material record. According to the definition of sectarianism of Stark and Bainbridge (1985: 23, 49-60), a sect is a religious group in a state of tension with its surrounding environment. This tension is reflected in three major ideological components: antagonism, separation, and difference, which are directed at the outside world. Indeed, resistance also expresses antagonism, social-distinctiveness and a certain attempt at separation (see below). Hence, when resistance is conveyed through material culture, it *may* represent antagonism, separation, and difference, namely, sectarian ideology.

Resistance occurs when there is tension between dominant and subordinate societies. The subordinate society feels antagonism towards the dominant one, and preserves or develops distinct modes of behavior (such as language, rituals, and art) in order to express its cultural independence or separation (Seymour 2006: 305). There are, however, different and heterogeneous forms of resistance such as malingering, strikes, thievery, banditry as well as art, speech, tales and chants (McGuire and Paynter 1991b: 11-13, 15-16). Scott (1985; 1990) has shown that in addition to open and declared modes of resistance (public assertions of dress, speech, desecration of status symbols of the dominant elite), subordinate societies may carry out disguised, low-profile and undeclared hidden transcripts of resistance, such as rituals of aggression and creating autonomous social space for assertion of dignity (Scott 1990, esp. 198). Thus, resistance may

remain relatively invisible to the powerful, without provoking reaction or even recognition from others, and lacking a specific 'target' (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 541).

Famous examples of sectarian resistance represented in material culture are the technological taboos of the Old Order Amish and the Old Order Mennonites (Kraybill 2001: 21-26, 41, 70-79, 188-237; Redekop 1969: 35-37, 43, 48-50). Here rejection is expressed by avoiding the use of the dominant material culture or by an active reaction to it. Modes of resistance found in the archaeological record of Kh. Qumran would support the view that its inhabitants were sectarians.

4.2. Does the Pottery from Kh. Qumran Reflect Resistance?

Recent discussions of the pottery from Kh. Qumran have focused on whether it is substantially different from the ceramics of other contemporaneous sites in Judaea or the Dead Sea region. Chemical tests have also been used in an attempt to discover whether the Qumran vessels were locally produced or imported from other workshops. Scholarly interest in these questions was probably stimulated by the pre-supposition that local and distinctive pottery would demonstrate a sectarian character, while trading vessels with outside sites would attest to a non-sectarian settlement. Associating local and distinctive pottery with sectarian ideology actually pre-supposes that sects refused to use vessels produced by outsiders, having a distinctive material culture. Thus, such an approach implies the concept of resistance through rejection of certain vessels and the manufacture and use of distinctive ceramics.

Indeed, several social archaeologists have identified resistance in the manufacture and use of vessels and artifacts which are different from those of the dominant society. Ferguson (1991) suggested that the Colono Ware ceramics of the African-American in 18th century South Carolina ignored the characteristics of the European-American Georgian foodways, but imitated West-African ceramics. There was also little evidence of individual or group segmentation or hierarchy (prevalent in the Georgian ceramics) in the Colono Ware. Thus, the Colono Ware was purposely different from the vessels of the white dominant culture but similar to West African patterns in a manner which reinforced common heritage and cultural difference.

Similarly, the so-called Gentiles or un-baptized among the Rarámuri of northwest Mexico withdrew geographically and religiously from their surrounding society. They resisted the external hegemony of the Mestizo by manufacturing and using "antiquated" objects such as woolen skirts, bows and arrows. These objects signify defiant self-sufficiency and identify their makers as members of a subculture of resistance (Levy 1998).

Several scholars addressed the question of whether the pottery of kh. Qumran was distinctive (which I interpret as reflecting resistance). Magness (1994) argued that the ceramic repertoire at kh. Qumran was limited and repetitive, bearing a plain and deliberately selective character (cf. de Vaux 1973: 17; Broshi and Eshel 2004: 163). The inhabitants preferred to manufacture most of their ceramic products on their own as a deliberate policy designed to reinforce the community's self-sufficiency and isolation. Magness based this conclusion on her assertion that extremely prevalent types at the site, such as the delicate cup or bowl with a flaring rim (called "cyma profile") and ring base (as well as a Hellenistic-like oil-lamp type) were not widespread in Judaea, and therefore were probably manufactured at the site. Other types of pottery that were prevalent in Judaea, such as Eastern Sigillata A and pseudo-Nabataean bowls (also called Jerusalem painted bowls) are rarely found at the site.

In subsequent revisions of her article, Magness (2002: 73-79; 2004a: esp. 13-15) did not repeat the selective, plain and isolated characteristics of the pottery at kh. Qumran. She admitted that the relative absence of types commonly found in Judaea, such as imported vessels (Western Terra Sigillata, amphoras and Roman lamps) as well as the more common Eastern Terra Sigillata and Jerusalem painted bowls, is not unique to kh. Qumran since such vessels were likewise not found in Ein Boqeq (Fisher, Gichon and Tal 2000: 30-33), south of Qumran or in Ein ez-Zara (ancient Callirrhoe). Magness now believes that the limited ceramic repertoire may have been a result of a regional phenomenon, due to regional and trade factors (the high cost of overland transport) rather than a sectarian ideology of seclusion (see also Bar-Nathan 2006; Zangenberg 2004: 77-78). Magness nonetheless repeated her assertion that there are certain types of bowls and cups distinctive of kh. Qumran which were probably locally manufactured.

Donceel and Donceel Voûte (1994: 7, 12; Donceel Voûte 1994), Hirschfeld (2004: 142-149), and Magen and Peleg (2006: 68, 71-72, 102-103; 2007: 21) overstressed the presence of several Eastern Sigillata shreds, painted "pseudo-Nabataean" wares, as well as 70 mold-blown glass wares, several of which were similar to those of the southern Phoenician coast, Herculaneum and Pompei, and others were probably locally manufactured since raw material of glass was found at the site (note, however, that according to Mizzi most of the glassware from period II are of the cheapest kind and the luxurious ones may be from period III; see Mizzi forthcoming). They believe that these indicate the inhabitants' wealth and hence their non-sectarian identity. They also point to decorations such as stone slabs carefully cut to be used in pavements of *opus sectile* and columns (cf. Chambon 2003) as well as the 1234 coins (cf. Murphy 2002: 305-317).

Studying the sources of production of the ceramics found at kh. Qumran has been approached with enthusiasm. Kilns were uncovered in loci 64 and 66, a potter's wheel in L65, a large amount of production waste reported by Magen and Peleg as well as plastered installations that may have been used for washing clay (De Vaux 1973: 16-17; Borshi 1998: 24; Magen and Peleg 2006: 64, 68). However, petrographical and Neutron-Activation Analysis of the vessels' clay supplied mixed results. Although some of the tested pottery were probably produced from local clay in the site's kilns, (18), many other vessels of different types were made of clay characteristic of Jerusalem, Jericho, Motsa (near Jerusalem), Beit 'Ummar (near Hebron), and other types of clay which do not exist near Qumran (Yellin, Broshi and Eshel 2001; Gunneweg 2003; Gunneweg and Balla 2003; Michniewicz and Krzyśko 2003). It seems that the pottery of kh. Qumran should not be characterized as secluded, substantially plain, or significantly distinctive, and it does not represent resistance to the dominant material culture of Jerusalem or Hasmonean Jericho.

It is necessary to stress, however, that the purchase or use of vessels from the outside society, namely the fact that kh. Qumran was an "open site", does not disprove that its inhabitants were sectarians. Extremely segregated sects, such as the Hutterites and Old Order Mennonites also use vessels and goods (such as tractors) purchased from outside (Redekop 1969; Hostetler 1974: 195-196). The Old Order Amish, for example, use china dishes, sometimes purchased at an auction (Friesen and Friesen 1996: 44) and their economic system is not exclusive (Kraybill 2001: 238-267). (19) It should be therefore be concluded that sects that reject the accumulation of wealth and modern technology do not necessarily express their resistance in the types of vessels they use. The question remains whether there are other forms of resistance that can be found in kh. Qumran.

(18) Given that kh. Qumran was not a pottery production center, one may wonder why the inhabitants produced some of their vessels by themselves. Local pottery production may express community identity. For an example of community identity expressed symbolically through ceramic production, marking village differentiation in response to dominating institutionalized power relationships, when communities established their place within society (in Late Maya formative villages in Belize), see Barlett and Mcanay 2000.

(19) The Quakers adhered to simplicity in their daily life and avoid luxuries (Penn 1999: 212-286) but also used fine wares in their private homes (cf. Tolles 1963). See also the exhibition of Quaker china dishes in the Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia. The Moravians in Salem, North Carolina, living in social segregation from the Anglo-American settlers, manufactured only some of their own ceramics and also sold their vessels to outsiders. Some of the ceramic types were of a unique Moravian type while others followed the British style (Thomas 1994). Shaker colonies produced and sold to outsiders different kinds of furniture in large quantities and also shared their technological inventions with the outside world. Although Shaker furniture is plain in its style and decoration, its design was influenced by the contemporaneous London style (Rieman and Burks 1993: 40-44). For Shaker stores and commercial goods, see Nicoletta 1995: 77-87, 111-114.

4.3. *Interpreting Deposits of Animal Bones and Vessels: Ritual Meals as Resistance*

De Vaux paid special attention to animal bone deposits stored in ceramic vessels. The bones were of sheep, goats, lambs, kids and calves which had been generally boiled but sometimes roasted. (Zeuner 1960; Magen and Peleg 2007: 63). They were stored in different vessels, especially pots and jars, some of which, it seems, were deliberately broken (Mageness 2004b: 98). The vessels were either placed on the ground or buried. The deposits were from periods Ib and II, and were found in loci 23, 65, 73, 80, 92, 130, 132, 135, and the trench south of the settlement, namely at the northern, southern and southeastern margins of the site (apart from L23 which is in the middle court of the “main building”) (Mageness 2004b: 98-99). Magen and Peleg reported similar deposits within the site (e.g. in loci 44, 59, 61) as well as in the southern dump (Magen and Peleg 2007: 12, 43, 63).

De Vaux concluded that the bones were remains of meals which reflected a certain ritual, and his followers stress that these were *sacral* meals which indicate the ‘sectarian’ character of the inhabitants (Mageness 2005b: 94-99; Pfann 2006: 172; cf. Laperrousaz 1976: 211-221). Humbert (1994: 184-189) even claimed that these animals were sacrificed on an altar in loci 138 or 77.

Others, however, raised more mundane explanations. The bones were deposited at the site because the members did not wish to leave the confines of the site on their holidays, or were afraid to go out in the dark. Vessels were used to cover the bones to prevent their detection by wild animals or perhaps for improving the fertility of the soil (Cansdale 1997: 160; Hirschfeld 2004: 111; Donceel 2005: 45-46; Magen and Peleg 2006: 96). These explanations are unconvincing. Some of the bones and vessels were not buried sufficiently deep to thwart foraging animals. They were placed close to the main building, where there was no need to fertilize the soil. If these were mere means of dump disposing garbage, they should have been moved to open areas at some point and not stored in vessels. If the inhabitants had been concerned about scavenging animals, they would not have buried the bones close to their dwellings or meeting places. The view that the vessels were discarded due to their impurity (Hirschfeld’s 2004: 109) or the impurity of the bones (Cansdale 1997: 160) should be rejected since the bones of kosher animals are not more defiling than other foodstuff.

The storage or burial of the bone deposits right beside the buildings, and not on the outskirts in the open desert, indicates that they were handled with special care and were regarded as bones with unique ritual status (cf. Mageness 2004b: 97-98). If the bones had merely been regarded as garbage, even as the remnants of sacred meals, they could have been deposited or burned at a distance, similar

to those of the Temple sacrifices (e.g., Lev 4:12; m. *Me'ila* 2:5). Apparently, the meat of kosher animals (and consequently, their bones) had a special ritual status analogous to a sacrifice, but the bones carried an additional ritual feature. The act of placing the bones in vessels and burying them in these public spaces was in itself a special rite. Indeed, Hendon (2000) commented that the burial of objects and deposits or offerings constructed spaces to be remembered, based on mutual knowledge. It reinforces the affiliation between the individual and the social group defined by shared residence and practices.

Some of the vessels in which the bones were buried, the cooking pots in particular, may have had a special ritual status of their own, and therefore were not disposed of merely as containers of bones. (20) According to biblical law and rabbinic halakhah, clay vessels in which certain sacrifices were boiled carried the ritual status of their sacred contents, because the vessel absorbed sacred meat. Since such vessels could not be subsequently used for ordinary non-sacral use, they had to be broken or disqualified (Lev 6:21; m. *Zebahim* 11.4-5, 7). To prevent the desecration of these vessels, they were kept out of reach. Rabbinic laws mention breaking and puncturing of such vessels, many of which have been found stored (in water reservoirs, for example) in excavations throughout Jerusalem, such as in the Herodian Quarter (Grossberg 2002).

We should therefore consider the disposal of bones and some of their containers as representing remnants of ritual meals in which the meat was considered consecrated. Significantly, meals in which meat was considered sacred were basically limited to the Temple sacrifices that were eaten at the Temple Mount or inside Jerusalem (Grossberg 2002; cf. Temple Scroll 52:13-53:10). As Magness (2004b: 94-98) already concluded, these disposals should be interpreted as analogous to the sacrificial meals at the Jerusalem Temple, but not necessarily as actual sacrifices (as suggested by Humbert 1994: 184-203) since the evidence relates only to their cooking and disposal. The uniqueness of these meals in kh. Qumran is highlighted by the relative rarity of meat consumption in antiquity, when meat was usually available in religious ceremonies, and meat consumption had social significance (Gransey 1999: 123-124).

These meals may have signified a challenge to the Temple cult, and supported the proper adherence to similar sacred rituals many miles away from Jerusalem, independent of the dominant priestly in-

(20) According to de Vaux's field notes at least 9 pots (and probably many additional broken ones) in loci 23, 130, 132, 135 (and the one presented in Magen and Peleg 2007: 45, fig. 44) were used for the burial or storage of animal bone deposits. Bones were also placed in a pan and casserole (L132). However, de Vaux also listed other vessels which may not fit the following explanation: several jars (loci 23, 65, 73, 130, 135 and in the southern trench), bowls (loci 65, 92, 132, 135), goblets (L135), 3 plates (loci 92 and 132), and a terrine (L132).

stitutions. Thus, the inhabitants imitated the ritual practices of the Temple and Jerusalem in a manner which probably purposely violated the traditional Jewish taboos of holiness which prohibited the consumption of sacred meat outside the Temple and its environs. The consumption of sacred meat in kh. Qumran signified a ritual of resistance to the Temple. The large amount of bone deposits at the site indicates that this ritual of resistance was quite common and persistent. Analogous rites of resistance are rarely observed by archaeologist, but are familiar to sociologists. (21)

Significantly, the resistance to the dominant religious system testified to by these deposits was practiced through conventional material means. There was nothing exceptional in the *types* of vessels in which the bones were cooked or stored. The manner in which they were *used* created the act of resistance. Hence, resistance may be carried out not only through distinctive types of artifacts, but also by the unique use of ordinary ones. (22)

4.4. Interpreting the Cemetery: Burial Shafts as an Expression of Resistance

The cemetery west of kh. Qumran is comprised of about 1177 identical oval-shaped heaps of stones, most oriented north-south (Eshel et al. 2002). Each heap covered a rectangular shaft (1.2-2m. deep) that had been hewn horizontally to accommodate the corpse. At the bottom of the shaft, a *loculus* or niche was dug out (de Vaux 1973: 45-48, 57-58; Puech 1998 with bibliography). Accompanying grave goods were scarce. What is most impressive is the relative uniformity of shape, orientation and "row segmented" organization of the graves (de Vaux 1973: 46; for types of cemetery organization, see Parker Pearson 1999: 12-14). These shaft graves were substantially different from the conventional burial in contemporaneous Jerusalem and Jericho, where a relatively large cave and several loculi were hewn, usually as a familial burial site (Regev 2004).

Hachlili concluded that "the Qumran cemetery reflects a distinctive, out of the ordinary community, which purposely used different customs. If Qumran would have been a Jewish fortress or villa, the burial customs would have followed the Jerusalem-Jericho form of loculi-family tombs and their burial customs... The individual

(21) In the hippy sub-culture, the importance of drugs did not lie in their direct physical effects, but in their facilitation of breaching a great symbolic barrier erected against the 'straight' society. Being a symbolic key for experience, drugs were accorded a semi-sacred status in the hippy culture, and their use was accompanied by ritual and reverence (Willis 1976, 107-108).

(22) One example is the English Teddy Boys' "uniform" of the 1950s, an aristocratic suit which was an (unsuccessful) attempt to buy status, representing the Teds' social otherness (being outsiders in relation to their own working class) as well as their social aspirations to live by their own wits (Jefferson 1976).

burial... seems to indicate that the residents of Qumran were not families" (Hachlili 1993: 263; cf. Hachlili 2005: 472-473, 475-479). Puech and others argued that using the least expensive burials reflects the Essene "vow of poverty" (Puech 1998: 28-29; cf. Taylor 1999: 312-313) and speculated that the individual graves were intended to separate men and women.

Similar but much smaller cemeteries or scattered burials were found elsewhere on the Dead Sea shore ('Ain el-Ghuweir and Hiyam el-Sagha) and near Jerusalem (Beit Safafa, East Talpiyot and Mamilla) and were regarded as characteristic of Essenes or related groups (Zissu 1998; Hachlili 2005: 20-22, 471-473). The simplicity of these burials led several scholars to conclude that shaft burial merely represents a conventional burial method in field graves for burying poor and lone individuals who lacked the resources to finance a hewn tomb (Hirschfeld 2004: 162; Magen and Peleg 2006: 97). Indeed, the discovery of a large Nabataean cemetery comprised of 3,500 deep shaft tombs in kh. Qazone (Politis 1998; 2006) led Zangenberg (1999), Hirschfeld (2004: 162) and Politis (2006: 219) to conclude that a single shaft tomb is neither typical of Qumran nor is it distinctively Jewish, and that the north-south orientation is not unique to Qumran.

These other sites demonstrate that there are several possible reasons for burial in single shaft graves. In the case of kh. Qumran, however, the other findings at the site allow us to identify the supposed socio-economic background of the deceased and to postulate why they were buried in individual shafts instead of in familial caves of hewn loculi. The abundance of tableware and the 1234 coins (including a hoard of 561 silver coins), (23) indicate that the inhabitants had considerable economic resources, (24) and therefore their plain burials were a matter of preference, or to use a socio-anthropological term, ideology. This also explains why the graves have a uniform orientation and shape (for ideology expressed by burial customs, cf. Parker Pearson 2003: 32-34, 86-94, 135-137; McGuire 2003).

I therefore agree with Hachlili that these burials are intentionally not familial, but unlike Hachlili and others I do not share the view that this proves that the deceased did not live in families. All that can be positively stated is that the people in charge of the burials chose to understate the significance of family relations and to stress the identi-

(23) Laperrousaz 1976: 149-153. Magen and Peleg (2007: 22) found another 180 coins. Compare the 57 coins in Ein Boqeq's *officina* (Fisher, Gichon and Tal 2000: 85-92, 137) and the 223 coins in Horvat'Eleg (Barkay 2000).

(24) Röhrer-Ertl's (2006: 186) anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains of the "Collectio Kurth" from kh. Qumran claims that these nine male individuals did not earn their livelihood through physical labor and were members of the upper stratum. The remains of "French collection," however, may attest to different results (cf. Magness 2002: 171).

cal communal status or commemoration of the dead. They could have been buried in caves (and in the Herodian period, also in ossuaries) as in Jericho and Ein Gedi, but chose otherwise. They did so, I suggest, in order to maintain their social distinction, and therefore it is possible to interpret this act as resistance.

Resistance is attested to through differences in burial, for example, in Narragansett, a 17th century Indian cemetery in Rhode Island. Here the organization of the cemetery and orientation or posture of the bodies were uniform; although they contained many European artifacts, these graves attest to an affirmation of cultural values as a response to threatening European contact (Robinson, Kelley and Rubertone 1985). In late 19th century Broome County, the religious rural elite denied class differentiation (characteristic of the secular urban elite) by the absence of differentiation of graves, using similar marble tablets (instead of monumental ones used by the urban elite) and decorating the graves with distinctive symbols (McGuire 2003: 467-468). I propose interpreting the intentionally distinctive burial practice and the identical burials at kh. Qumran as an act of resistance on the part of the inhabitants to demonstrate (to themselves and to outsiders) the uniqueness and cohesiveness of their community in contrast to the dominant culture where familial affiliation and status differences split society.

5. Split Ritual Baths and Social Hierarchy

De Vaux excavated ten or eleven stepped pools or cisterns in kh. Qumran (Galor 2006). Recently some scholars regarded them as mere water reservoirs (Cansdale 1997: 125-136; Hidirolglou 2000), as facilities for collecting clay for pottery production (Magen and Peleg 2006:68 following their finding of clay sediments in L58), (25) for drying dates, or processing perfumes and ointments from balsam (Hirschfeld 2004: 138). Nevertheless, most scholars identify them as ritual baths (*miqv'aot*) due to their convenient staircases, the fact that their capacity and channeling system (using non-drawn water) corresponds with later rabbinic halakhah (Strobel 1972; Reich 1990: 2000; Galor 2006: 316), and the fact that the amount of water available in these baths is more than twice the amount of water needed for ordinary living and bathing (Wood 1984).

Scholars debated whether these ritual baths are exceptional, and therefore may point to the sectarian character of the inhabitants. Broshi (1998: 24; Broshi and Eshel 2004: 163) argued that “no-where in Palestine... do we have such big pools or such density of

(25) Magen and Peleg (2006: 88-89) are incorrect in their claim that the water collected through a sedimentation basin was considered drawn (and ritually invalid) according to Jewish halakhah. According to m. *Mikva'ot* 4.1-5, only vessels (and not empty water facilities) invalidate the water.

these religious installations.” Reich (1997: 128) attributed their large number to the communal meals, assuming that the inhabitants immersed themselves before these meals. Others, however, denied the uniqueness of the baths in kh. Qumran. Hirschfeld (2004: 121, 138) asserted that these baths were used for manufacturing pure wine and other products and noted that L68 was situated near a wine press. Magen and Peleg (2006: 88-89, 92-94; 2007: 41-42) argued that some of them were constructed in order to produce pottery in a state of purity. Hirschfeld (2004: 128; cf. Reich 1990: 318) also claimed that the number of ritual baths is not exceptional but “close to the norm in houses owned by affluent Judaeans of the period.” But the sites he mentioned show that kh. Qumran contains the largest number of baths per complex except for one building in the Jewish Quarter, which is also exceptional. Thus, both the number of the ritual baths in a relatively small site as well as the large size of some of them are remarkable in comparison to other settlements (Galon 2006: 310, 313).

Five out of the ten or eleven baths (loci L43/48/49, 56, 71, 117, 138) have staircases with a symbolic partition made of plaster lines or partition walls designed to demarcate the division between those who descend impure and those who ascend pure, and are also found in some baths in Jerusalem and its environs (Reich 1980: 1990). Such partitions may have been associated with unique priestly concerns of ritual purity (Regev 1996; 1997), and prove that these were indeed ritual baths (Broshi 1998: 24; Broshi and Eshel 2004: 163). Unique to kh. Qumran, however, are three ritual baths with more than one low partition line. In L56 (which lies parallel to the “refectory” of L77) the five uppermost steps have two parallel low stepped partitions made of plaster; in L71, the largest stepped pool, two parallel short partitions cross the four upper stairs, creating a triple distribution of these stairs crosswise; the upper five steps of L43/48/49 are distributed by three such parallel plastered partitions as well as by an additional small wall, thus having five lanes crosswise. De Vaux (2003, 30 *ad.* L48) found the “separations” “difficult to interpret”. Reich (1990: 316) suggested that their function was to direct the water through the staircase down to the baths, but this is not convincing since the force of gravity moved the water.

I suggest that the use of more than one partition implies a symbolic division into several degrees of purification, that is, a complex system of ritual purity, which may also attest to a certain social structure unique to kh. Qumran. In general terms, separation is dictated by hierarchy (cf. Dumont 1980). A conventional split bath, where a defiled person goes down one side of the staircase and goes up the other side in a state of purity, is related to priestly or another stricter degree of purity. Hence it follows that a division of the staircase into three, four or five lanes marks several different degrees of purity observed

by their users. One degree of purification may have demanded the use of a certain lane(s) while another one required another lane. (26) If this is correct, the multiple splits indicate a demarcation between distinct degrees of purity, and probably between different “castes” of people (cf. Reich 1997: 126). Thus, the plastered partitions are markers of a special hierarchy, apparently a hierarchy of degrees of purity and perhaps also social classes. (27) Such a phenomenon, unattested to elsewhere, does not correspond with the social structure of a villa, manor house, fortress, etc., but it may reflect different hierarchies within a sect (on different sectarian systems of hierarchy in the scrolls and among early modern sects, cf. Regev 2007: 285-291).

6. Excursus: Rings and Gender in Kh. Qumran

The cemetery near kh. Qumran draws special scholarly attention due to the debate concerning the number of women (and children) buried there, and how these findings contribute to our understanding of the character of the site. De Vaux excavated forty-three shaft tombs near kh. Qumran, and identified seven women and four children. However, in his opinion, the presence of women and children does not undermine the interpretation of kh. Qumran as the site of a celibate community. He regarded these women and children as non-members of the community at the site, and considered their burial as irregular, “apart from the general alignment” at the margins of the cemetery. De Vaux still regarded the conclusion that the deceased (at least some of them) were celibate or Essene as a possibility. (28)

Zias (2000; followed by Magness 2004e: 115-120 and others) reduced the actual number of women and children, arguing that almost all of the female skeletons were later Bedouin burials since their orientation was east-west (rather than the conventional north-south), and that the jewelry, especially glass beads, found in some tombs, are rarely found in Jewish burials and seem typical of medieval or

(26) Galor (2006: 304) stated that “from a practical point of view, the interpretation of using low partitions as a symbolic space divider does not make any sense... the lanes created by the partitions are frequently as narrow as 0.15 meters.” While such narrow lanes are indeed inconvenient, the steps in the other installations in loci 69 and 50 are not wider and could have been appropriate for daily use (cf. Galor 2006: 293, 311).

(27) Galor (2006: 318 n. 23) pointed to (and rejected) the possible correlation between the quadruple lanes in certain ritual baths and the division of the Essenes into four hierarchical classes (War 2.150-153). Magness (2002: 150) believed that the partition and additional entrance in L48 reflect different ranks.

(28) De Vaux 1973: 47, 128-129; 45-47 57-58 110; followed by Puech 1998: esp. 26, 29; Broshi 1998: 26. De Vaux’s division into main and peripheral parts of the cemetery was recently regarded as artificial by Taylor 1999 and Norton 2003: 116-117. The placement of certain burials on the margins may simply reflect a diachronic development of the cemetery (cf. Parker Pearson 2003: 12).

Bedouin burials. Zias (2000; 2003) also disputed the results of other reports of female skeletal remains and argued that only one ancient woman's tomb (T9) is located on the margins of the cemetery and may therefore represent "an outsider." (29)

Taylor (1999) and Donceel (2002), however, tried to show that the actual number of women was larger than admitted by de Vaux. Others argued that the very existence of female burial at the site contradicts its identification with the celibate Essenes (Cansdale 1997: 165-170; Zangenberg 2000: 65-72; Hirschfeld 2004: 161-162; Baumgarten 2004). Norton (2003) reexamined the entire evidence from the cemetery in light of Zias' study and showed that not only did Zias disregard several tombs of women and children, he also did not apply his own categories (grave's orientation, head's orientation, depth, goods, bone's freshness/preservation) with adequate consistency and therefore inappropriately regarded several female burials as Bedouin. Hence, it seems that not all east-west or shallow graves should be regarded as such. Norton concluded that from the total of 60 individuals in 52 tombs, at least five females (BE2a, BE2b, T22, T24b, and Tombe A) and two children (T36 and QG.6b) were found in graves whose dating to the Second Temple is probable (Norton 2003: 122-123). (30) Norton concludes that the presence of women and children in the cemetery does not undermine the Qumran/Essene hypothesis, bearing in mind that not all Qumran-Essenes were celibate (*ibid.* 123-124).

It is therefore more than possible that there were *at least* several women and children in kh. Qumran. The data, however, is based on fifty-five tombs (gender diagnosis exists for only forty-nine, and some of them were indeed Bedouin) out of the total 1177 (of which 999 are north-south) (Eshel et al. 2002: 142-143). This sample is too partial to afford a statistical conclusion regarding the relative absence of women and children, or to interpret it as proof of celibacy (or Essene identity).

The presence of women at the site was also examined according to gendered objects (for identifying gender in material record, see,

(29) Zias 2000: 250. T9 was located in the northern section of the cemetery and Vallois identified the fragmentary remains (which are now unavailable) as a "female (?)". De Vaux confused it with Tombe A, which is a female's tomb (Sheridan and Ullinger 2006: 208; Norton 2003: 108-109).

(30) These tombs are located in different parts of the cemetery, and not only at the "margins." T 22, T24b, are located in the "main cemetery" (the western section), Tombe A in the northern cemetery, T 36 in the southern extension, BE2a BE2b in the middle extension (Eshel et al. 2002: 155-160). The precise location of QG.6b remains unknown (Norton 2003:121). Zias (2000) rejected the results of Röhrer-Ertl, Röhrhirsch and Hahn 1999 arguing that T22, T24b are males (results which are defended, contrary to Zias, by Sheridan 2002: 238-239, 246). He also regarded T36 as Bedouin due to its east-west orientation. BE2a and BE2b (recently published in Eshel et al. 2002: 143-153; their results are contested by Zias 2003) are indeed shallow but the bones have been C¹⁴ dated to pre 68 CE (see also Norton 2003: 111, 118).

e.g., Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998). Taylor (1999: 317-321) was only able to trace scarce evidence – two spindle whorls (associated with female work). (31) Magness (2004e: 124-133) commented that some objects (such as fibulae) were also worn or used by men, and that most of the beads and bracelets post-date periods I-II. She concluded that as far as the archaeological record indicates, there was only a very minimal presence of women in kh. Qumran, especially in comparison to Masada and the Judaean Desert caves from the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, where hairnets, combs, spindle whorls, cosmetics, rings and earrings were found. Magness, however, admitted that this is “an argument from silence” and that women may have obscured their feminine appearance and identity, as one would expect from Essene women. The lack of spindle whorls (and loom weights) also indicates that no clothes were woven (whether or not we define weaving as a feminine occupation) at the site. Hence the site was not a conventional household and it can hardly be identified as a village or manor house.

Interestingly, in his field notes (Humbert and Chambon 1994: 291-341; de Vaux 2003), de Vaux mentioned 15 bronze and iron rings (“anneau”) in loci 9-9A, 10-10A, 29, 39, 44(x2), 104, 111, 121, 134, 135, trench A and the northern trench, and two additional rings (“bague”) in loci 28 (where a ring made of bone was also found) and 55 (not including rings which were found in loci which are distinctively related to period III). De Vaux also listed earrings (“pendant d’oreille”) in L93/128/14 and an unidentified “ornament” in L39. Several rings and bracelets were also found by Magen and Peleg (2007: 21) although they give no further details.

Since these rings were not published and their diameters never specified, one must be cautious when drawing hasty conclusions from this evidence. Until their final publication, it is impossible to conclude whether these were indeed finger rings (cf. the gold and silver rings with a flat surface in Eshel and Zissu 1998: 136-137, which were evidently jewelry). If their diameter is approximately 1.5-2cm, similar to those found in Horvat’Eleq (Sidi 2000: 183-184, Pl. III:4-5; Kol-Yaakov 2000: 497-498, Pl. XI:2-7; cf. Grossmark 1994: 59-61), it is more than possible that these rings were finger rings (although similar ones found in the Judaean Desert caves were allegedly used as apparel ornamentations, cf. Eshel and Zissu 1998: 141). (32) It is more than reasonable that such rings were worn by women, since

(31) Taylor drew on Donceel and Donceel Voûte (1994: 14). One of the spindle whorls documented by de Vaux is from L20 (that is from period III). Another one is from L7, and Magness (2004e: 123) noted “it lies on the margins of the settlement.” A third one was found in the “railway” trench of loci 99, 128, 148.

(32) Dennis Mizzi, who observed Chambon’s illustrations prepared for the final report of the material, informed me that he believes that only four of the rings found by de Vaux are finger rings while the others are utility rings (Mizzi, forthcoming). I thank him for that valuable information.

in the Roman world men rarely wore rings (Magness 2004e: 122; Croom 2000: 71), although such a practice was probably more common in the Hellenistic world (Grossmark 1994: 51). The obscure character of the rings notwithstanding, a final publication of these findings may lead to a revision of the current understanding of gender representation in kh. Qumran.

The presence of rings (as well as earrings and bracelets) at the site naturally raises the question of whether the inhabitants were Essenes, namely celibate. While it is always possible to argue that these artifacts belonged to the married Essenes (*War* 2.160-161), from the perspective of the scrolls, the possible presence of women at the site does not contradict its relation to the scrolls or the *Yahad* sect. Nowhere in the scrolls is celibacy mentioned. In contrast to the scholarly consensus, it seems that the members of the *Yahad* were not celibate since the silence of the *Yahad's Community Rule* about women and family cannot prove a celibate way of life (Regev 2007: 252-259; 2008). In fact, women in the *Yahad* may have enjoyed a higher status than in the surrounding Jewish society (*IQSa* 1:11; 4Q502*Ritual of Marriage*; Regev 2007: 321-330).

In fact, there were several social differences between the Qumran sectarians and the Essenes, and the two were probably not entirely identical (Baumgarten 2004; Regev 2007: 248-266). Moreover, the identification of kh. Qumran as an Essene community is based on Pliny's reference to the celibate Essenes *infra hos Engedi* (*Natural History* V 73; de Vaux 1973: 128-137; Magness 2002: 39-46). However, Pliny's topographic assertion is rather vague, and one should also doubt his knowledge of Judaeian geography and the Essenes (Baumgarten 2004: 177-179; cf. Stern 1976: 465-566). The triple identification of the scrolls, the site of kh. Qumran, and the Essenes should therefore be avoided.

6. Conclusions

6.1. Sectarian Characteristics of the Material Culture at Kh. Qumran

The analysis of pottery, burial and ritual baths enables us to trace several features that may be associated with sectarianism. **Ritualization** is one of the manners in which sects express their ideology in relation to the outside world, creating a sense of togetherness and modes of distinctive sacredness. The use of numerous tableware vessels by each diner at each meal attests to an emphasis on symbolic distinctions, implying the ritual role of meals. A relatively large number of people dined together and attributed a special social meaning to their meals which were divided into separate courses. The large number of cups and goblets may also indicate ritual drinking. Ritual markers are also manifested in the deposits of animal bones and the vessels in which they were cooked.

There are further markers of ritualization which are also related to **hierarchy**. By hierarchy I mean not only social distinctions between different classes of people, characteristic of only a certain type of sects, but also a division into different categories of occupations and practices, such as between the mundane and sacred ones. The division of the private and communal life of the sectarians into different spheres of daily and sacred activities is common to all sects, and is more intense than in non-sectarian societies. As a result, greater significance is attributed to rituals such as rites of passage (cf. Regev 2007: esp. 280-284). Such hierarchies are reflected in the three ritual baths divided into separate lanes by two or four partitions. The differentiation between lanes reflects a division into different kinds of ablutions, probably between sacred and more sacred (or perhaps different classes of who immersed). The large amount of tableware also points to a certain hierarchy, related either to the structure of the meals (e.g. different courses) or to different classes among the diners.

Resistance to the outside dominant society is implied by the animal bone deposits buried within the settlement. These deposits represent resistance expressed through special meals in which the meat and bones of the animals were considered sacred. The consumption of meat in these meals as analogous to the sacrificial meals at the Temple was an intentional challenge to the priestly cult in Jerusalem. The inhabitants thereby claimed that a comparable holiness could be achieved at a site remote from the Jerusalem Temple. The burial in single burial shafts, creating a break from the norm of familial burial caves, seems to derive from a certain ideology rather than from lack of means. This type of burial seems to demonstrate the uniform and distinct communal identity of the deceased, resisting the familial structure and the Jewish elites. The types of pottery used at the site do not represent seclusion or a distinctive style and therefore cannot be interpreted reflecting resistance.

Strong social boundaries in relation to the outside world are implied in the exceptional abundance of more than 1600 tableware vessels (84% of the entire ceramic assemblage) which attests to ritual meals, and also indicates a very cohesive society. Their unique commensality created a sense of exclusiveness and elitism from which outsiders were excluded. In another study I have examined the spatial organization of kh. Qumran using Space Syntax Theory (Hillier and Hanson 1984), also called Access Analysis (Regev 2009). A comparison of the architectural layout of kh. Qumran with several contemporaneous Judean villas and manor houses shows that in kh. Qumran spatial boundaries and seclusion from the surrounding society were greatest. The Access Analysis also demonstrates that kh. Qumran is divided into different segments in a hierarchal distribution of spaces which marks separation between different spheres. This attests to hierarchal structure, ritualization, and a complex social organization.

Reconstructing sectarian ideology out of material remains is a matter of interpretation. The results cannot be as straightforward as tracing sectarianism in written documents. Nonetheless, the present analysis points to several independent manifestations in the material culture of features which are characteristic of sectarianism. If kh. Qumran were a villa, manor house, fortress, inn, a center for manufacturing pottery or balsam, etc., these results would have remained extremely odd. Regardless of the scrolls found at nearby caves, the present analysis indicates that the inhabitants of kh. Qumran subscribed to a sectarian ideology or bore social characteristics typical of sects.

6.2. *Back to the Scrolls: Comparing kh. Qumran with the Yahad's Community Rule*

Following the analysis of the material remains at kh. Qumran without regard to the scrolls, the temptation remains to compare our results with features of sectarianism manifested in the most relevant scroll – the Community Rule of the *Yahad* (which many assume to have resided in kh. Qumran).

Several generic sectarian characteristics were shared by the *Yahad* and the inhabitants of kh. Qumran. Similar to the inhabitants, the *Yahad* also maintained strict social boundaries and regarded itself as a segregated group (*IQS* 8:10-13). *Yahad* members maintained a social hierarchy. They were ranked according to descent, their “spirit, insight and works in the Torah”, while full members, partial members and novices had different status (Regev 2007: 285-291). They also held many special rites, such as the annual communion ceremony of “passage into the covenant” and (*IQS* 1:16-2:32; Kugler 2002) and special prayers (*IQS* 9:4-5; 10:1-11:2). Nevertheless, these similarities may merely be a result of their common sectarian character, and cannot prove a direct connection.

There are, however, more specific points of resemblance. The animal bone deposits in vessels indicating consumption of sacred meat express an alternative to the priestly cult and resistance of kh. Qumran's inhabitants to the Temple. The *Yahad* believed that prayer and moral behavior substitute the sacrificial rites and lead to atonement (*IQS* 9:3-5; Regev 2007: 122-124). Nevertheless, there is no reference in the *Community Rule* (or in any other scroll) to the consumption of sacred meat outside the Temple. This may have been a ritual unique to the inhabitants of kh. Qumran.

There is an impressive correspondence regarding the social significance of communal meals. Through a complicated set of rules, the *Community Rule* demonstrates that the *Yahad's* meals were an extremely important social institution (Bilde 1998). The text prescribes that the priest should be the first to bless when eating bread or drinking wine (*IQS* 6:4-5; *IQSa* 2:17-22). Transgressors were punished

by reducing a quarter of “one’s bread” for a period ranging from days to years (*IQS* 6:25-7:19). Novices and transgressors were excluded from the “purity” (namely, the meals) and “beverages” (*mashkeh*) of the sect (*IQS* 6:16-21; 7:18-21). Participation in these meals therefore affirmed membership, and reflected hierarchal symbolism in which priests had priority and transgressors were chastised. This recalls the significance of feasts in kh. Qumran, and particularly the hierarchal structure of individual dishes and probably different courses. This does not mean, however, that the sect reflected in the *Community Rule* actually lived in kh. Qumran, but points to a relatively close connection between them.

In conclusion, I believe that the social analysis of the archeological record of kh. Qumran indicates that the inhabitants of kh. Qumran adhered to a sectarian ideology, quite similar to those of the *Yahad*. Like the *Yahad* they were self-secluded, had a complex social structure and rituals, resisted the Temple cult, and paid special social attention to ritual meals. However, although there is no contradiction or tension between the archeological and literary evidence, such correspondence is insufficient in order to justify a sweeping identification of the inhabitants with the *Yahad*. Several methodological considerations (see above, section 1.2) do not allow for the conclusion that the *Yahad*, the sect of the *Community Rule*, was simply located at kh. Qumran. The inhabitants may have been a group related (more or less directly) to the *Yahad*.

Indeed, it seems that there was not one single group called the *Yahad*, but several independent ones. A comparative analysis of sectarian organizations shows that a sect is almost always not a single community but a complex organization comprised of social networks in which multiple communities operate simultaneously (whether or not fully autonomous communities or connected by a common leadership or a sort of steering committee, see Regev 2007: 291-296). As for the *Community Rule*, recent studies suggest that there were several simultaneous and independent *Yahad* groups. These multiple *Yahad* groups may have been described by different social designations – the *rabbim* and the “council of the *Yahad*” – referred to in the *Community Rule* (Hempel 2006; 2007 cf. Regev 2007: 181-184), as well as in the different versions of the *Community Rule* from Cave 4 (Schofield 2008a; 2008b). It is therefore likely that *one* of these *Yahad* groups or a similar related group inhabited kh. Qumran. (33)

Eyal REGEV

(33) My thanks to Prof. Avraham Faust for many bibliographical references related to social archaeology and comments on earlier drafts of this article, and to Profs. Hanan Eshel and Jodi Magness for various suggestions. The writing of this article was supported by the Kuchiski Fund and the Dr. Simon Krauthammer Chair in Archaeology of the Department of Land of Israel and Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University.

REFERENCES

- Bar-Nathan, R. 2006. "Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Implications of the Pottery Finds for the Interpretation of the Settlement at Qumran," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 263-277.
- Barkay, R. 2000. "The Coins of Ḥorvat'Eleg," in Hirschfeld 2000, pp. 377-419.
- Barthes, R. 1973. *Mythologies*. London: Paladin.
- Barlett, M.L. and Mcanay P.A. 2000. "'Crafting' Communities. The Materialization of Formative Maya Identities," in Canuto, M.A. and Yaeger, J. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Communities. A New World Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 102-122.
- Baumgarten, A.I. 2004. "Who Cares and Why Does It Matter? Qumran and the Essences, Once Again!" *DSD* 11.2: 174-190.
- Berlin, A. "The Plain Wares," in S.C. Herbert ed. *Tel Anafa II, 1. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. JRA Supplement 10; Ann Arbor: Kelesy Museum, pp. 1-211.
- 1999a. "The Archaeology of Ritual: The Sanctuary of Pan at Baniyas/Caesarea Philippi." *BASOR* 315:27-45.
- 1999b. "What's for Dinner? The Answer is in the Pot." *BAR* 25.6: 46-55, 62.
- 2006. *Gamla I: The Pottery of the Second Temple Period*. IAA Reports 29. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquity Authority.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bilde, P. 1998. "The Common Meal in the Qumran-Essene Communities," in I. Nielsen and H.S. Nielsen (eds.), *Meals in Social Context: Aspects of Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*. Oxford: Aarhus University Press, pp. 146-166.
- Broshi, M. 1992. "The Archaeology of Qumran – A Reconsideration," in D. Dimant and U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years of Research*. Liden/Jerusalem: Brill/Magnes Press/Yad Izhak ben-Zvi, pp. 103-115.
- 1998. "Was Qumran, Indeed, A Monastery?," in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Caves of Enlightenment, Proceeding of the American School of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium*, Texas: Bibal Press, pp. 19-37.
- 1999. "Was Qumran a Crossroads," *RevQ* 19: 273-276.
- 2000. "Qumran: Archaeology," in L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, II: 733-739.
- Broshi, M. and Eshel, H. 1999. "How and Where the Did the Qumranites Live?" in D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 266-273.
- 2004. "Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Contention of Twelve Theories," in D.R. Edwards (ed.), *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 162-169.

- 2006. "Was there Agriculture at Qumran," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 249-252.
- Burdajewicz, M. 2001. "Typology of the Pottery from Khirbet Qumran (French Excavations. 1953-1956)," *American School of Oriental Research Newsletter* 51.3: 14.
- Cansdale, L. 1997. *Qumran and the Essenes. A Revaluation of the Evidence*, TSAJ 60, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- Chambon, A. 2003. "Catalogue des blocs d'architecture localisés ou erratiques," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 445-465.
- Cohen, E. 2000. "Early Roman Glass," in Hirsfeld 2000a, pp. 470-472.
- Croom, A. 2000. *Roman Clothing and Fashion*. Charleston SC: Tempus.
- Crown, A. and Cansdale L. 1994. "Qumran – Was it an Essene Settlement?" *BAR* 20.5: 24-36, 73-78.
- Davies, P. R. 1996. "How Not to Do Archaeology: The Story of Qumran," in *idem, Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 79-87.
- Dietler, M. 2001. "Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts," in Dieter and Hayden 2001, pp. 65-114.
- Dieter, M. and Hayden, B. (eds.) 2001. *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Donceel, R. 1997. "Qumran," in E. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 392-396.
- 1999. "Jericho hellénistique et romaine. Khirbet Qumrân sur le mer Morte," *Dossier d'archéologie* 249: 106-112.
- 2002. *Synthèse des Observations Faites en Fouillant les Tombes de Necropoles de Khirbet Qumrân et des Environs*, [The Qumran Chronicle 10], Cracow: The Enigma Press.
- 2005. "Khirbet Qumrân (Palestine): Les Locus 130 et Les "Ossements Sous Jarre". Mise à Jour de la Documentation," [The Qumran Chronicle 13.1], Kraków: The Enigma Press.
- Donceel, R. and Donceel Voûte, P. 1994. "The Archaeology of Khirbet Quman," in M.O. Wise et al. (eds.), *Method of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site, Present Realities and Future Prospects*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, pp. 1-38.
- Donceel Voûte, P. 1994. "Les ruines de Qumrân réinterprétées", *Archaeologia* 298: 24-35.
- Doudna, G.L. 1999. *Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran: the Case for 63BCE*, The Qumran Chronicle 8.4, Cracow: The Enigma Press.
- Douglas, M. 1975. "Deciphering a Meal," in *idem, Implicit Meanings*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 249-275.
- Douglas, M. and Isherwood, B. 1978. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, New York: Routledge.
- Dumont, L. 1980. *Homo Hierarchicus. The Caste System and Its Implications*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Eshel, H. and Zissu, B. 1998. *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*. Tel Aviv: Eretz (Hebrew).

- Eshel, H. et al. 2002. "New Data on the Cemetery East to Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9: 135-165.
- Faust, A. 2005. "The Canaanite Village: Social Structure of Middle Bronze Age Rural Communities," *Levant* 37: 105-125.
- Ferguson, L. 1991. "Struggling with Pots in Colonial South Carolina," in McGuire, R.H. and Paynter, R. 1991a, pp. 28-39.
- Fisher, M., Gichon, M. and Tal, O. 2000. *Ein Boqeq. Excavations in an Oasis on the Dead Sea. Vol. II: The Officina*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Friesen, K.F. and Friesen, J.W. 1996. *Perceptions of the Amish Way*. Dubuque Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Galor, K. 2003. "Plastered Pools: New Perspectives," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 291-320.
- Galor, K., Humbert, J.-B. and Zangenberg, J. (eds.) 2006. *Qumran. The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates, Proceedings of a Conference at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Golb, N. 1995. *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* New York: Scribner.
- Goody, J. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gransey, P. 1999. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grossberg, A. 2002. "Cooking Pots with Holes Found in Jerusalem and the Customs of Haverim and Amei ha-Aretz," in E. Baruch and A. Faust (eds.), *New Studies on Jeruslaem* 8, Ramat Gan: Ingeborg Rennett Center for Jerusalem Studies, pp. 59-71 (Hebrew).
- Grossmark, Z. 1994. *Jewellery and Jewellery-Making in the Land of Israel at the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud*. Ph.D dissertation, Tel-Aviv University (Hebrew).
- Gunneweg, J. 2003. "Introduction: Archaeology and Archaeometry at Qumran," pp. xv-xx in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003.
- Gunneweg, J. and Balla, M. 2003. "Neutron Activation Analysis. Scroll jars and Common Ware," Pp. 3-53 in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003.
- Hachlili, R. 1993. "Burial Practices in Qumran," *RevQ* 16: 247-264.
- 2005. *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hayden, B. 2001. "Fabulous Feasts: A Prolegomenon to the Importance of Feasting," in Dieter and Hayden 2001, pp. 23-64.
- Hays-Gilpin, K. and Whitley, D.S. eds. 1998. *Reader in Gender Archaeology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hempel, C. 2006. "The Literary Development of the S Tradition: A New Paradigm," *RevQ* 22: 389-401.
- 2007. "Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition," in F. García Martínez and M. Popović (eds.), *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth IOQS Meeting in Groningen Conference*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 43-61.
- Hendon, J.A. 2000. "Having and Holding: Storage Memory, Knowledge and Social Relations," *American Anthropologist* 102: 42-53.
- 2003. "Feasting at Home: Community and House Solidarity among the Maya of Southwestern Mesoamerica," in T. Bray (ed.), *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Kluwer/Plenum, pp. 203-233.
- Hidiroglou, P. 2000. "L'eau et les bains à Qoumrân," *REJ* 159.1-2: 19-47.

- Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschfeld, Y. 1998. "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57: 161-189.
- 2000. *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations. Final Reports of the 1984-1998 Seasons*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 2004. *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*. Peabody MA: Hendrickson.
- 2006. "Qumran in the Second Temple Period: A Reassessment," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 223-239.
- Hodder, I. (ed.) 1982. *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. and Huston S. 2003. *Reading the Past. Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollander, J.A. and Einwohner R.L. 2004. "Conceptualizing Resistance," *Sociological Forum* 19.4: 533-554.
- Humbert, J.-B. 1994. "L'espace sacré à Qumrân: Propositions pour l'archéologie," *RB* 101.2: 161-214.
- 2003a. "Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 419-425.
- 2003b. "The Chronology during the First Century B.C.. De Vaux and His Method: A Debate," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 425-444.
- 2003c. "Arguments in faveur d'une résidence pré-essénienne," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 467-482.
- Humbert, J.-B. and Chambon, A. 1994. *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân and Aïn Feshkha I*, NTOA, SA 1, Fribourg: Éditions universitaires.
- Humbert, J.-B. and Gunneweg, J. eds. 2003. *Khirbet Qumrân at 'Aïn Feshkha II. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie*. NTOA, SA 3; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hostetler, J.A. 1974. *Hutterite Society*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.
- Jefferson, T. 1976. "Cultural Responses of the Teds," in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 81-86.
- Kapera, Z.J. 1996. "Khirbet Qumran: A Monastic Settlement or a villa rustica," *The Qumran Chronicle* 6.1: 93-114.
- Kol-Yaakov S. 2000. "Various Objects from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods," in Hirschfeld 2000, pp. 473-503.
- Kraybill, D.B. 2001. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, Revised Edition. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.
- Kugler, R. 2002. "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33: 131-152.
- Laperrousaz, E.-M. 1976. *Qoumrân: L'établissement essénien des brods de la Mer Morte: histoire et archéologie de site*. Paris: Éditions A. & J. Picard.
- Levy, J., 1998. "The Bow and the Blanket: Religion, Identity and Resistance in Raramuri Material Culture," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 54: 299-324.
- Lèvi Strauss, C. 1975. *The Raw and the Cooked*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Little, B. 1997. "Expressing Ideology without a Voice, or Obfuscation and the Enlightenment," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1.3: 225-241.

- Loroux, N. 1981. "La cité comme cuisine et comme partage," *Annales ESC* 36: 614-622.
- Magen, Y. and Peleg, Y. 2006. "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavations and Research, 1993-2004," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 55-113.
- 2007. *The Qumran Excavations 1993-2004 Preliminary Report*. Judea and Samaria Publication 6. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Magness, J. 1994. "The Community at Qumran in Light of its Pottery," in M.O. Wise et al. (eds.), *Method of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site, Present Realities and Future Prospects*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, pp. 39-50.
- 2002. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans.
- 2004a. *Debating Qumran. Collected Essays on Its Archaeology*, Leuven: Peters.
- 2004b. "Communal Meals and Sacred Space in Qumran," in Magness 2004a, pp. 81-112.
- 2004c: "A Villa at Khirbet Qumran?" in Magness 2004a pp. 17-40 [= *RQ* 63 (1994): 397-419].
- 2004d: "The Community at Qumran in Light of its Pottery," in Magness 2004a, pp. 1-16.
- 2004e: "Women at Qumran?" in Magness 2004a, pp. 113-149.
- 2004f. "The Chronology of Qumran, Ein Feshkha, and Ein el-Ghuweir," in Magness 2004a, pp. 49-61.
- 2006. Review of de Vaux 2003, *DSD* 13:262-266.
- McGuire, R.H. 2003. "Dialogue with the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery," in Leone M.P. and Porter, P.B. (eds.), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*. Clinton Corners: Percheron Press, pp. 435-480.
- McGuire, R.H. and Paynter, R. eds. 1991a. *The Archaeology of Inequality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- McGuire, R.H. and Paynter, R. 1991b. "The Archaeology of Inequality: Material Culture, Domination and Resistance," in McGuire and Paynter 1991a, pp. 1-27.
- Meskel, L. and Preucel, R.W. eds. 2004. *A Companion to Social Archaeology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Metso, S. 1997. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill.
- Michniewicz, J. and Krzyśko, M. 2003. "The Provenance of the Scroll Jars in the Light of Archaeometric Investigations," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 59-66.
- Miller, D. and Tilley, C. ed. 1984. *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mizzi, D. forthcoming. *Khirbet Qumran: Studies in a Contextual Approach*, Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University.
- Murphy, Catherine M. 2002. *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*. STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill.
- Nicoletta, J. 1995. *The Architecture of the Shakers*. Woodstock Countryman Press.
- Norton, J. 2003. "Reassessment of Controversial Studies on the Cemetery," in Humbert and Gunneweg 2003, pp. 107-127.

- Parker Pearson, M. 2003. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Spinkford: Sutton.
- Patrich, J. 2000. "Did Extra-Mural Dwelling Quarters Exist at Qumran?" in L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, pp. 720-727.
- Penn, W. 1999 [1669]. *No Cross, No Crown*, York: William Sessions Book Trust.
- Pfann, S. 2006. "A Table Prepared in the Wilderness: Pantries and Tables, Pure Food and Sacred Space at Qumran," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 159-168.
- Politis, K.D. 1998. *ADAJ* 42: 611-614.
- 2006. "The Discovery and Excavation of the Khirbet Qazone Cemetery and Its Significance Relative to Qumran," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 213-219.
- Puech, É. 1998. "The Necropolis of *Khirbet Qumrân* and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife" *BASOR* 312: 21-36.
- Redekop, C.W. 1969. *The Old Colony Mennonites. Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- Regev, E. 1996. "Ritual Baths of Jewish Groups and Sects in the Second Temple Period," *Cathedra* 79: 3-21 (Hebrew).
- 1997. "More on Ritual Baths of Jewish Groups and Sects: On Research Methods and Archaeological Evidence — A Reply to A. Grosberg," *Cathedra* 83: 169-176 (Hebrew).
- 2004. "Family Burial, Family Structure, and the Urbanization of Herodian Jerusalem," *PEQ* 136.2: 109-131.
- 2007. *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Religion and Society Series 45; Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2008. Cherchez les femmes: Were the *yahad* celibates? *DSD* 15.2: 253-284.
- 2009. "Access Analysis of Kh. Qumran: Reading Spatial Organization and Social Boundaries," *BASOR* 353.
- Reich, R. "Mishnah, Shekalim 8:2 and the Archaeological Evidence," in A. Oppenheimer, U Rappaport and M. Stern (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period, Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem, pp. 225-256 (Hebrew).
- 1990 *Miqwa'ot (Jewish Ritual Immersion Baths) in Eretz-Israel in the Second Temple and the Mishna and Talmud Periods*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- 1997. "Miqwa'ot (Ritual Baths) at Qumran," *Qadmoniot* 30:2 (114): 125-128 (Hebrew).
- 2000. "Miqwa'ot at Khirbet Qumran and the Jerusalem Connection," in L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, pp. 728-731.
- Rieman, T.D. and Burks J.M. 1993. *The Complete Book of Shaker Furniture*. New York: Abrams.
- Robinson, P.A., Kelley, M.A. and Rubertone, P.E. 1985. "Preliminary Biocultural Interpretations from a Seventeenth-Century Narragansett Indian Cemetery in Rhode Island," in W.W. Fitzhugh (ed.), *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cul-*

- tural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 107-130.
- Röhler-Ertl, O. 2006. "Facts and Results Based on Skeletal Remains from Qumran Found in the *Collectio Kurth*: A Study in Methodology," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 181-193.
- Röhler-Ertl, O., Rohrhirsch, F., and Hahn, D., 1999. "Über die Grabenfelder von Khirbet Qumran, insbesondere die Funde der Campagne 1956," *RevQ* 19: 3-47.
- Rohrhirsch, F. 1996. *Wissenschaftstheorie und Qumran. Die Geltungsbegründungen von Aussagen in der Biblischen Archäologie am Beispiel von Chirbet Qumran und En Feschcha*. NTOA 32, Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Safrai, Z. 1998. "Ancient Field Structures – The Village in Eretz Israel during the Roman Period," *Cathedra* 89: 7-40 (Hebrew).
- Schofield, A. 2008a. "Rereading 1QS: New Paradigms of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies," *DSD* 15.1: 96-120.
- 2008b. *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*. Leiden: Brill.
- Scott, J.C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Seymour, S. 2006. "Resistance," *Anthropology Today* 6.3: 303-321.
- Shackel, P.A. 1993. *Personal Discipline and Material Culture. An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695-1870*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. 1987. *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sheridan, S.G. 2002. "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites?: Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *DSD* 9.2: 199-248.
- Sheridan, S.G. and Ullinger, J. 2006. "A Reconsideration of the Human Remains in the French Collection from Qumran," in Galor et al. 2006, pp. 195-212.
- Sidi, N. 2000. "Roman and Byzantine Small Objects," in Hirschfeld 2000, pp. 177-186.
- Silberstein, N. 2000. "Hellenistic and Roman Pottery," in Hirschfeld 2000, pp. 420-569.
- Stark, R. and Bainbridge, W.S. 1985. *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Strobel, A. 1972. "Die Wasseranlagen der Hirbet Qumran," *ZDPV* 88: 55-58.
- Taylor, J.E. 1999. "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *DSD* 6: 285-323.
- 2006. "Khirbet Qumran in Period III," in Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg 2006, pp. 133-146.
- Tolles, F.B. 1963. *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763*. New York: Norton
- Thomas, B.W. 1994. "Inclusion and Exclusion in the Moravian Settlement in North Carolina, 1770-1790," *Historical Archaeology* 28.3: 15-29.

- Trigger, B.G. 2004. "Cross-Cultural Comparison and Archaeological Theory," in Meskell and Preucel 2004, pp. 43-65.
- Ullmann-Margalit, E. 2006. *Out of the Cave. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Dead Sea Scrolls Research*. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- VanderKam, J.C. and Flint, P. 2002. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: HarperSanFrancisco.
- de Vaux, R. 1956. "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân, Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e et 5e campagnes," *RB* 63: 533-577.
- 1973. *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Oxford University Press.
- 2003. *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Ain Feshkha. Vol. 1B: Synthesis of Roland de Vaux's Field Notes*. NTOA.SA 1B, trans. by S.J. Pfann, Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wiessner, P. and Shiefenhövel, W. eds. 1996. *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Providence RI: Berghahn Books.
- Willis, P.E. 1976. "The Cultural Meaning of Drug Use," in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. eds., *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* London: Hutchinson, pp. 106-118.
- Wilson, B. 1959. "An Analysis of Sect Development," *American Sociological Review* 24: 3-15.
- 1982. *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, B.G. 1984. "To Dip or Sprinkle? The Qumran Cisterns in Perspective," *BASOR* 256: 45-60.
- Yellin, J., Broshi, M. and Eshel, H. 2001. "Pottery of Qumran and Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenance," *BASOR* 321: 65-78.
- Yentsch, A. 1991. "The Symbolic Division of Pottery: Sex-Related Attributes of English and Anglo-American Household Pots," in McGuire and Paynter, 1991a, pp. 192-230.
- Zangenberg, J. 1999. "A Final Farewell. A Necessary Paradigm Shift in the Interpretation of the Qumran Cemetery," *The Qumran Chronicle* 8.3: 213-219.
- 2000. "Bones of Contention: 'New' Bones from Qumran Help Settle Old Questions (and Raise New Ones): Remarks on Two Recent Conferences," *The Qumran Chronicle* 9.1: 51-76.
- 2004. "Opening up Our View: Khirbet Qumran in a Regional Perspective," in D.R. Edwards (ed.), *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 170-187.
- Zeuner, F.E. 1960. "Notes on Qumran," *PEQ* 92: 27-36.
- Zias, J. 2000. "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7: 220-253.
- 2003. "Qumran Archaeology: Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors," *RevQ* 21: 83-98.
- Zissu, B. "Qumran Type" Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community?" *DSD* 5: 158-171.

ON THE INTERPOLATIONS IN THE *BOOK OF JUBILEES*

Summary

A number of recent studies have suggested that the *Book of Jubilees* may be the product of more than one author: contradictions within *Jubilees* raise the possibility that this book, like other works of the Second Temple period, may have undergone revision in the course of its transmission. Building on these earlier studies, the present article seeks to identify the source of those contradictions. It distinguishes 29 passages in *Jubilees*, all of which are characterized by certain stereotypical phrases and other common characteristics. They are the work of an interpolator who sought to incorporate his own ideas and practices into the book. An absolute determinist, he believed that Israel's history and all the laws of the Torah had been written long ago in the "Heavenly Tablets." For this reason he sought to claim, wherever possible, that this or that law found later in the Pentateuch had actually been inaugurated by Noah, Abraham, Jacob, or other early figures. He championed a calendar which required no human sightings of the new moon – its succession of 30-day months, with four additional, extramensual days, had been predetermined for eternity. Similarly, he turned the Feast of Weeks into the Feast of Oaths, thereby eliminating any need for humans to count off seven weeks as prescribed in the Pentateuch. All these changes bear the same stamp and are further distinguished by their unique terminology.

In inserting these 29 passages, the interpolator frequently misunderstood or deliberately distorted what the original author of *Jubilees* had said – thus creating contradictions and inconsistencies in the book as we know it. If these 29 passages are excised, one obtains an altogether smoothly flowing text, and the true nature of the original book of *Jubilees* may be seen clearly. Its author had a rather different ideology and a very different purpose in writing.

SCHOLARS have been studying the *Book of Jubilees* with intensity ever since the complete work became available in its Ethiopic translation in the mid-nineteenth century. For the most part, these studies have treated *Jubilees* as a unitary work, the product of a single author. (1) A number of recent works have, however, cast

(1) In a study published some years ago, G. Davenport suggested a two-stage process of composition: *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Studia Post-Biblica

doubt on the unitary nature of *Jubilees*: studies by (among others) Devorah Dimant, Menahem Kister, and Liora Ravid have all highlighted internal contradictions within *Jubilees*, and their observations have raised the possibility that the book contains material from more than one hand. (2) Most significantly, Michael Segal has argued in a detailed study that numerous contradictions within *Jubilees* – particularly contradictions between the legal rulings it propounds and the narrative sections on which those rulings are allegedly based – suggest multiple authorship of a particular sort: according to Segal, the author of those legal rulings was in fact the redactor of the book as a whole, but in compiling it he had copied some of his book's narratives from earlier works written by others. In incorporating this earlier material into *Jubilees*, the "halakhic redactor" (as Segal called him) had simply failed to notice that some of these narratives in fact contradicted the legal lessons that he himself wished to draw from them. (3)

The evidence for multiple authorship presented by Segal's book and the other studies mentioned seems impossible to ignore: the contradictions within the book are too numerous and too significant not to call into question the old consensus of a single author. I should confess from the start, however, that while I am convinced by Segal's overall conclusion, I differ somewhat in my understanding of how the book came to acquire its present shape. In the following, I wish to present in some detail my own view of the process responsible for the emergence of the book of *Jubilees* as we know it.

The Special Terminology of the Tablets

Segal's study is the most complete and convincing exploration of contradictions within *Jubilees* to date; but I should also like to credit the work of Liora Ravid, which has highlighted what she calls the "special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets," that is, the unique vocabulary employed in the numerous legal passages of *Jubilees*. (4)

20; Leiden: Brill, 1971); however, his approach failed to gain widespread approval and has not been pursued.

(2) D. Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch in the Books of Enoch," *VT* 33 (1983): 14-29; M. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah" in J. Trebolle-Barrera and L. Vegas-Montaner (eds.), *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March 1991* (2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill and Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992) 2:571-88; and L. Ravid, "The Relationship of the Sabbath Laws in *Jubilees* 50:6-13 to the Rest of the Book" *Tarbiz* 69 (2000): 161-66.

(3) Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); henceforth: "Segal." It is to be noted that Kister, "Some Aspects," was the first to suggest that there were discrepancies "between the narrative and halakhic elements in *Jubilees*" p. 586.

(4) L. Ravid, "The Special Terminology of the Heavenly Tablets in the Book of *Jubilees*" *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 463-71. Although the specific passages that I associate with the "special terminology" differ somewhat from those listed by Ravid, my debt to her overall insight should be evident through this study.

These passages frequently speak of different laws and practices having been “ordained and written in the Heavenly Tablets,” or simply of things that have been “written and ordained” or “written and inscribed” for Israelites to do. They also describe the book’s angelic narrator turning to Moses at various parts of the book and saying, “And you, Moses, command the Israelites to do such-and-such.” The author of these passages is likewise fond of asserting that the law or practice that he has just described “has no temporal limits” but is to be kept by the Israelites “for eternal generations.” All these and other expressions are the “signature” of the person who wrote them, and the legal passages that Segal identified as conflicting with the *Jubilees* narrative (as well as others to be mentioned shortly) are likewise marked with this same signature. Both scholars, I think, have helped point the way to a solution of the problem of multiple authorship in *Jubilees*.

I will not review here all the evidence advanced by Segal, but merely mention three of his many examples:

1. The narrative regarding Judah and Tamar goes out of its way to give both Judah and Tamar a legal out (which the biblical story does not). It asserts that Tamar’s earlier marriages to Er and Onan had never been consummated; as a result, she was still a virgin when Judah had relations with her, and this union was thus altogether licit (see *Jub.* 41:1-21, 27-28). If so, it was certainly proper that neither of them be punished (as indeed they were not in the biblical narrative). Yet the accompanying legal passage (41:23-26 – characterized by the typical “terminology of the Heavenly Tablets”) mentions nothing of these mitigating circumstances. As far as the author of this passage was concerned, Judah was fully deserving of punishment and only “had forgiveness because he turned away from his sin” (41:25) after pleading and lamenting before God. If he did nothing wrong, why should he have to plead and lament?
2. A similar case is that of the sin of Reuben and Bilhah (*Gen* 35:22). The narrative in *Jubilees* stresses that Bilhah was an unwitting victim – she knew nothing of Reuben’s intentions and was in fact fast asleep when he came to her bed. The accompanying legal section (again, rife with the “terminology of the Heavenly Tablets”) asserts by contrast that neither Reuben nor Bilhah was punished because “the statute, the punishment, and the law had not been completely revealed” at the time this incident took place. It thus makes no distinction between Reuben’s guilt and Bilhah’s innocence, although this was clearly an important fact in the narrative section.
3. Perhaps the most persuasive instance of a contradiction comes in Segal’s contrast of the descriptions of the exodus from Egypt found in chapters 48 and 49 of *Jubilees*. Chapter 48, a narrative

section, reviews briefly the events leading up to the exodus. As often in the book, the narrator speaks of the role of “the angel Mastema,” a Satan-like figure who leads the forces of evil. Here, Mastema tries to kill Moses, then, failing that, seeks to aid Pharaoh’s magicians in combating the ten plagues, and still later urges the Egyptians to pursue the departing Israelites – in short, Mastema does everything he can to foil God’s plan to free the Israelites. He actually has to be held in restraints for five days, “bound and locked up” (*Jub.* 48:15), to prevent him from succeeding. By contrast, in chapter 49 – largely taken up with detailing the laws of Passover – the narrator suddenly reminds Moses of what happened on the fateful night that inaugurated the exodus:

For on this night – it was the beginning of the festival and the beginning of joy – you were eating the passover in Egypt when all *the forces of Mastema* were sent to kill every firstborn in Egypt, from the Pharaoh’s firstborn to the firstborn of the captive slave-girl at the millstone, and to the cattle as well. (*Jub.* 49:2) (5)

Here, there is a clear about-face: instead of trying to frustrate God’s plans, Mastema’s legions actually become God’s agents, carrying out the tenth plague instead of opposing it. (Indeed, in 49:4 they are identified as “the Lord’s forces.”) Apparently, the author of this passage – and the surrounding legal material – was disturbed by the very idea of God having angelic opponents and so went out of his way here to assert Mastema’s forces were altogether subject to God’s will, indeed, His obedient subalterns.

Now, it is certainly true that authors do sometimes contradict themselves. But these examples, it seems to me, go well beyond the sort of contradictions that a single author might be responsible for. How can the same person have deliberately rewritten the biblical narrative so as to have Bilhah completely innocent, and then say that she was not punished only because the law had not yet been revealed? And how can a single author simultaneously write that Mastema tried to counter the ten plagues that God brought on the Egyptians (*Jub.* 48:9) and then, in virtually the next breath, say that it was Mastema’s forces who were responsible for bringing the tenth plague onto Egypt (*Jub.* 49:2)? Such obvious internal contradictions seem to cross a line. It does indeed appear that two different authors are at work here.

The question is: who were these two authors? Segal’s conclusion was, as mentioned, that the legal passages in the book all stem from a single writer, the “halakhic redactor,” who superimposed his legal rulings on a series of narratives culled from a variety of differ-

(5) All translations are taken from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* CSCO vol. 511 (*Scriptores Aethiopici* vol. 88) (Louvain: Peeters, 1989) unless otherwise indicated.

ent sources, “usually rewritten stories...but sometimes other texts as well, such as testaments... However, the redactor did not limit himself to copying and joining existing sources, but also integrated them within the framework of a new literary composition.” (6) In other words, the narratives come from various sources, while the legal passages stem from the “halakhic redactor,” who also joined this material together to form his new creation, the book of *Jubilees*. (7)

As mentioned, my own attempt to make sense of the evidence comes out somewhat differently. I believe that the book of *Jubilees* started out as the work of a single author, and that the great bulk of the book that we have today is still his work – not only its narrative sections, but also quite a few of its legal passages as well as its basic ideology. But then, as happened with a number of other works of this period, (8) someone else – known herein as the Interpolator – inserted a series of passages of his own. This new writer’s material – usually only a few sentences here and there, and usually dealing with some biblical law – sometimes complemented, but also sometimes contradicted, the narrative *and* legal passages penned by the original author. These additions are for the most part characterized by Ravid’s “special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets,” which makes them easy to identify. Once they are removed, *all* the contradictions noted by Segal, as well as a number of other contradictions I wish to point out herein, disappear entirely. I have listed these interpolations, twenty-nine in all, at the end of this article.

These passages stand out from the rest of the book of *Jubilees* both because of their peculiar style – the “special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets” – and because many of them contradict what the rest of the book says, in both its narratives and its laws. Equally important, however, these added passages display a common purpose and ideology that are different from those of the original author. Finally, it may be shown that the Interpolator’s insertions are sometimes *reactions to what has been just said by the book of Jubilees itself*, rather than reactions to the book of *Genesis* that stands behind *Jubilees*. Indeed, in several crucial matters, the Interpolator will be seen to have misunderstood what *Jubilees* was saying. This is most evident in the case of contradictions between two legal passages, the first written by *Jubilees*’ original author, the second by the Interpolator. I wish to explore each of these points in turn, the better to understand the overall purpose and general characteristics of the Interpolator’s insertions.

(6) Segal, 317.

(7) In addition, Segal detected the existence of a few contradictions between the narratives and the chronological framework of *Jubilees*. I find this part of his argument less persuasive, but I wish to save treatment of it for another occasion.

(8) To mention but a few salient examples: *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *4 Baruch*, the *Ladder of Jacob*.

Consistently Mastema

Before getting to the details, however, I should like to make one general observation. Segal's notion that the book's "redactor" was a collector, culling material from various sources, runs up against the evidence of *Jubilees* itself: the narrative has a highly consistent character. Take, for example, the matter of Mastema just mentioned. Clearly, the author of chapter 49 of *Jubilees* – which is full of legal material and hence, Segal claims, is the work of the halakhic redactor – did not like the idea of a wicked Mastema opposing God's will; that is why he went out of his way to assert that it was the forces of Mastema (and not God's angels, or God alone, for that matter) (9) who carried out the tenth plague in keeping with God's will. There really oughtn't to be these independent forces of evil, he thought, marauding around the world at Mastema's command. And yet, the rest of *Jubilees* is quite full of Mastema's evil doings. In 10:8, Mastema pleads with God to allow one-tenth of his troops to survive – in order to do *his* bidding (not God's); in 11:5, Mastema "acted forcefully" to encourage idolatry; in 11:11, he sends crows to harrass Terah; in 17:16, he incites God to put Abraham to the test; he then reappears in the same story twice more (18:9, 12). If the author of chapter 49 were the redactor or compiler of the entire book, why did he not simply "redact" Mastema and his evil minions out of these stories? Apparently, he did not because he was not free to do so, and the most likely explanation for this inability is that *Jubilees* was *already a finished, well known work*. At best, this person felt he could insert a few quotations from the "Heavenly Tablets" here and there. But he could not perform radical surgery on the text and actually eliminate Mastema, because to do so would be to turn the original *Jubilees* into another work, *The Book of X*, while his goal was merely to create a new edition, *The Book of Jubilees-Plus-Some-Legal-Addenda*. (10)

(9) This brings to mind the rather opposite rabbinic assertion that the tenth plague was brought about "not through the agency of an angel... not of a seraph, [but] I Myself and no emissary." Was this a polemical jab at the Interpolator's version of events? See D. Goldschmidt, *The Passover Haggadah: its Sources and History* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1981], 122.

(10) Having pointed out the Interpolator's clear picture of a subservient Mastema in *Jub.* 49:2 (an obedient angel who does God's bidding), Segal nevertheless seeks to associate the appearances of an independent, evil Mastema's elsewhere in *Jubilees* with this same writer, his "halakhic redactor" (p. 177n). Indeed, Segal claims that Mastema embodies the "halakhic redactor's" views on the origin of evil (98-263, esp. 263-69). But the simple fact is that the *only passage* in all of *Jubilees* that bears the "special terminology of the Tablets" and speaks of Mastema is the one in chapter 49. None of the passages which present Mastema as a divine adversary has anything to connect it to the Interpolator – they are all the work of *Jubilees*' original author.

There is a further point here. *Jubilees* is virtually (11) the only narrative text we know of that refers to this divine opponent as “Mastema.” The fact that this name is used so frequently in *Jubilees* only adds support to the idea that the narratives are not culled from here and there. If they were culled from different sources, how likely is it that *all* these disparate sources would have chosen to use the name “Mastema” in their retellings of biblical stories – and then disappeared from sight? Surely it was not Segal’s “halakhic redactor” who introduced the name into the sources he drew upon – as his own example shows, the Interpolator hated the very idea of this evil Mastema opposing God – and this is, as a matter of fact, the only time that this later writer ever mentions Mastema’s name. All the other passages that speak of Mastema come from a single source, and that source is the original book of *Jubilees*. The Interpolator was not only stuck with the *idea* of an evil, divine creature who opposed God, he was even stuck with the *name* Mastema and could not deviate from it. (The best he could do, in the passage under discussion, was to suggest that, at least in one instance, Mastema’s men were really accomplishing God’s purpose.)

As with Mastema, so with other items in the original *Jubilees*; the author had his own, easily identified ideas and ideology, and their consistent appearance throughout the work again suggests *Jubilees*

(11) The only other narrative text from Qumran that mentions Mastema is one that is clearly dependent on *Jubilees*, 4Q216 *Pseudo-Jubilees*. On its relationship to *Jubilees* see J. VanderKam, “The Aqedah, *Jubilees*, and *Pseudo-Jubilees*,” in C. Evans and S. Talmon, *The Quest for Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Leiden, Brill, 1997), [241-61] 259-61 and my “Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 ‘*Pseudo-Jubilees*,’” DSD 13 (2006): [73-98], 97-98. Six of the seven remaining uses of the word *מַשְׁטֵמָה* in the Qumran texts all seem to construe it as the ordinary noun meaning “loathing,” which appears in *Hos* 9:7-8 and elsewhere. (On this see S. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Serve Him* [Tuebingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1993], 67.) Thus, the reference to *מַשְׁטֵמָה מִלֵּאךְ* in the *War Scroll* (1QM 13:11) describes Belial as “an angel of loathing” (i.e., the common noun); the fact that the same column refers earlier to Belial’s *מַשְׁטֵמָה מַחֲשַׁבָּה*, his “loathsome plan,” supports this conclusion. The word *מַשְׁטֵמָה* likewise appears to be a common noun in *IQS* 3:23, where the word is written with a possessive suffix, *מַשְׁטֵמָתִי*. The text 4Q390 “*Pseudo-Moses*” frag. 2 col 1:7 uses the common noun in the plural, “angels of loathings.” The “angel Mastema” does appear as a proper noun once in the *Damascus Document* (CD 16:5; see 4Q271 fragment 4, col. 2:6), but since the previous sentence refers book of *Jubilees* by name (CD 16:2-4), this too seems to be derived from *Jubilees*. The fragmentary appearances of the noun *מַשְׁטֵמָה* in 4Q525 *Beatitudes* and 11Q11 *Apocryphal Pss.* fragment 4 col. 2:4 (a restoration) do not provide any context for analysis. The Masada fragment *Mas. 1 j 1276-1787* mentions Mastema, perhaps as part of a narrative, but the text is far too fragmentary to permit any conclusion about its overall nature, date, or relation to *Jubilees*. I am not aware of a single text (apart from *Jubilees*) in the various compilations of Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha that refers to Mastema. So where are these Rewritten Bible texts that refer to Mastema which served the “halakhic redactor” as the raw material from which he compiled *Jubilees*?

was a single-authored, unified composition into which the Johnny-come-lately Interpolator inserted his own halakhic and other additions. Among the original author's beliefs, found repeatedly in the narrative *and* legal portions of the book that he wrote, are the following: He believed **A**) that God's connection to the people of Israel dates back to the sixth day of creation and was subsequently embodied in the covenants, promises, and other dealings He had with Israel's remote ancestors; (12) **B**) that, consequently, God's designation of Israel as His "treasured possession" in *Exod* 19:5 was hardly the start of this special relationship, nor was the covenant that took place at Mount Sinai the only legal agreement binding Israel to its God; (13) and **C**) that, in keeping with these two points, the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the subsequent Babylonian exile did not spell the end of God's ties to Israel – it was merely an unfortunate episode, for which Israel was duly punished and then forgiven. (All this, apparently, was said in opposition to any who might have despaired of any help from Israel's God in the grinding centuries of outside domination that had followed the return from Babylonian exile.) As part of his stress on the eternal and on-going bond between God and Israel, the author of *Jubilees* also argued more specifically that **D**) a chain of priests had existed from earliest time, (14) stretching from Adam and Noah to Abraham, Isaac, and Levi, and that a detailed knowledge of priestly practices had been passed along this chain, enabling these *Genesis* priests to offer sacrifices that in every way conformed to the later sacrificial practice outlined in *Exodus-Deuteronomy*. Some of their knowledge of sacrifices could be displayed in *Jubilees* thanks to the book's claim that **E**) various holy days, although they are first mentioned in or after the Sinai covenant, were actually inaugurated by Israel's ancient ancestors, with festal sacrifices being offered by the *Genesis* priests; here too, the eternal connection between God and Israel (starting long before Sinai) is expressed in the most vivid fashion. But despite this basically optimistic message, the original author also felt that Israel was not doing well at present. In particular, he believed that **F**) Israel was plunged in fornication (זנות) and impurity (טומאה), the latter term referring not to the ritual impurity imparted by contact with dead bodies and the like, but impurity arising largely from sexual immorality and contact with

(12) This point is well made by Segal, 279-82, 315.

(13) In fact, the original author goes to the trouble of citing this verse in words spoken by angels to Abraham in *Jub.* 16:18.

(14) Most modern readers will probably not grasp at first blush how vital was the existence of such an ancient priesthood to *Jubilees'* view of the eternal bond between God and His special people. Since cultic worship and its associated priesthood were simply a given of Israelite religion (and of other ancient Near Eastern religions as well), such a bond was scarcely imaginable without the fundamental means of its expression, sacrificial worship conducted by a regular priesthood.

“foreigners,” that is, non-Jews. Beyond this, he felt that Israel in his day was lax about a number of other commandments: he repeatedly stresses G) Israel’s laxness in observing the sabbath and various holy days. If only Israel could abandon its waywardness in these matters, God would restore His people to their former glory and power and their lives would be blessed beyond measure. Each of these seven items is attested in multiple passages in *Jubilees* – passages that never mention the “Heavenly Tablets” or any of the Interpolator’s telltale signs; they are the consistent work of the original author.

Of course, one could claim that this consistent ideology actually belonged to the book’s “halakhic redactor,” and that it was he who inserted elements of it here, there, and everywhere into the original texts that he had collected to compile his new composition, the book of *Jubilees*. But such an argument runs up against two major problems. The first is the matter of the Interpolator’s unique vocabulary. His insertions are, as mentioned, easily identified by the “special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets.” Yet this vocabulary is strikingly absent from most of the book of *Jubilees*, including those passages that most saliently communicate *Jubilees*’ basic ideology. Why, for example, is it not “written in the Heavenly Tablets,” or “written and ordained,” that God chose the seed of Jacob from the very start of creation (contrast *Jub.* 2:20), or that Sinai and Zion were designated in the *Heavenly Tablets* as being among God’s holiest sites (contrast 4:26 and 8:19)? If Israel is plunged in “fornication and impurity,” why is it that, of the eight occurrences of this phrase, none is found in a passage written by the Interpolator? (15) Why is it that the law of fruit trees (*Jub.* 7:1-6, 36-39), the prohibition of violating boundaries (*Jub.* 9:14-15), all the prohibitions found in Abraham’s charge to his descendants (chapter 20), and the priestly regulations given to Isaac (chapter 21) are not “written and ordained” as “eternal statutes” somewhere on high? The very fact that the Interpolator’s stylistic signature appears only in a relatively few, clearly distinguished insertions in the book supports the idea that the great bulk of *Jubilees* was not written, or even compiled, by the author of these insertions. He left most of the book untouched, as he found it. Secondly, there is the matter of contradictions between what is written on the Heavenly Tablets and the rest of the book – not only the contradictions that Segal found, but a number of others to be discussed below. If the

(15) It would not disturb this claim if the phrase were indeed adopted by the Interpolator once or twice – after all, he was a reader of *Jubilees*, in which “fornication and impurity” is a major theme. However, the only passage of the Interpolator’s that I have found to use a similar expression is in *Jub.* 30:8, “No adulterer or impure person is to be found in Israel.” This translation (VanderKam’s) is based on the Ethiopic text, which clearly has *zammā*, “prostitute,” “fornicator,” while the Latin version has *fornicaria*, “fornication.” The person rather than the abstract noun seems preferable in the light of what follows, “and *anyone* who has committed defilement is to die.”

book of *Jubilees* is the work of a redactor/compiler, someone who shaped the book to conform to his own ideology and legal system, how did he miss all the contradictions in his final product? Surely a true redactor writes every word of his new text, even if some of them are copied from elsewhere; if his book is essentially a composition *de novo*, he will, in the process of compiling it, try to filter out anything that jangles with his beliefs – so the contradictions will be minimal. Clearly, that is not the case with the Interpolator, and for the reason already mentioned: he was not writing an altogether new book, but merely creating a new edition, *The Book of Jubilees-Plus-Some-Legal-Addenda*.

This is hardly all there is to say about the general character of the Interpolator – a subject to which I wish to return at the end of this study – but I hope these brief observations will suffice to demonstrate, even to those not closely familiar with the work, that the great bulk of *Jubilees* is not made up of bits and pieces gathered from different compositions, but the work of a single author. Rather than elaborate on this general point, however, I wish to turn now to a number of specific passages from both the original author and the Interpolator, the better to illustrate the relationship between the two.

Significance of the Sabbath

The first of the Interpolator's insertions into the book of *Jubilees* concerns the sabbath. *Jubilees'* original author had treated the sabbath at length (*Jub.* 2:17-23), relating not only how God had rested on the seventh day of the creation, but what the ultimate significance of the sabbath was. Its ultimate significance was that it marked (strange to tell!) the beginning of God's connection to the people of Israel. Thus, at the end of its sabbath pericope, the author of *Jubilees* has God announce:

I will now separate a people for Myself from among My nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the people for Myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day. I will sanctify them for Myself; in this way I will bless them. They will become My people and I will become their God. I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as My first-born son and have sanctified them for Myself throughout the ages of eternity. I will tell them about the sabbath days so that they may keep sabbath from all work on them. (*Jub.* 2:19-20)

For *Jubilees'* author, the whole point of this recitation is to stress that, from the very first week of creation, God and Israel were linked. It was not the Sinai covenant that brought them together –

Israel had been God's chosen people from the very start; indeed, *Jubilees* says, God's later reference to Israel as "My firstborn son" (*Exod* 4:22) makes sense only if one realizes that, although Israel's founder Jacob was not born until the twenty-second generation of humanity on earth, he was nonetheless God's "firstborn" in the sense that he was already thought of – "conceived," one might say – on the world's very first sabbath. Indeed, the author finds a further stitch connecting Jacob and the creation narrative: just as there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, so precisely twenty-two different kinds of work were, according to the author's account of the Creation, performed when God made the world in those first six days (*Jub.* 2:23).

The Interpolator read this passage and was troubled not to find in it any listing of the actual sorts of work that Jews are forbidden to do on the sabbath. So he inserted his own list, in *Jub.* 2:24-33. This passage is marked with his signature phrases: turning to Moses, the angel of the Presence (the book's narrator) solemnly intones, "Now you command the Israelites to observe this day..." Having ended his list of forbidden work, he then adds: "This law and testimony were given to the Israelites as an eternal law throughout their history." Both of these are characteristic phrases of the Interpolator, that is, what Ravid identified as the "special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets."

There is no actual contradiction between these sabbath laws and the original author's discourse on the significance of the sabbath; it is just that they see an entirely different significance in the first sabbath of the Creation. For the original author, what was important about that first sabbath was the evidence it gave of God's eternal connection to Israel; although the original author was elsewhere interested in legal matters, that was not his interest here.

But the Interpolator had an entirely different agenda. What was important for him was the opportunity this passage in *Jubilees* gave him to insert (and thereby legitimize) the particular set of sabbath rules that he and his group lived by, and to claim that these had in fact been determined since the beginning of time. So he added a list of four specific prohibitions that went beyond the Pentateuch's general interdiction of working on the sabbath, namely, preparing any food on the sabbath itself; drawing water; bringing in or removing anything that is carried through the city gates; and carrying anything from one house to another (*Jub.* 2:29-30). Needless to say, these four specific prohibitions bear no relation to what the original author had said about the sabbath, nor do they overlap with any of the twenty-two types of work mentioned by the original author in his description of the six days of creation. Thus, although there is no out-and-out contradiction here, it certainly seems that the sabbath is being used by the two authors for two quite separate purposes.

The Creation of Adam and Eve

The Interpolator's next insertion did in fact result in an out-and-out contradiction. Like many other ancient interpreters, the original author of *Jubilees* was troubled by the sequence of events narrated in *Genesis* 1-3: if the creation of humans, "male and female," took place on the sixth day of creation, how did that square with the creation of Adam and Eve in chapters 2 and 3? According to those chapters, Adam was created first, and only afterwards was Eve shaped out of Adam's side or rib. *Jubilees'* author saw here a two-step process: Adam and Eve were indeed created on the sixth day ("male and female"), but Eve was at that time a little homunculus, a kind of pouch located in Adam's innards. In the second week, God extracted the homunculus and turned her into a full-sized human, Eve. In narrating these events, *Jubilees'* author was careful to stress that Eve's "birth," as it were, took place on the sixth day of the second week – that is, exactly one week after Adam's creation. He did this because he had had a wonderful exegetical idea.

A certain law in *Lev* 12:1-5 specifies that, when a woman gives birth to a boy, she is in a state of impurity for seven days, but when she gives birth to a girl, her impurity lasts for fourteen days. On the face of it, this law appears irrational; why should a baby girl double the time of the mother's impurity? The answer of *Jubilees'* author is that the doubled period of impurity corresponds to his own scenario for the creation of Adam and Eve: Adam was created on the first Friday (with homunculus Eve inside him), but Eve was not created until the second Friday; *therefore*, corresponding to this scenario, a mother's impurity lasts one week for a male child and two weeks for a female. Here was a solid proof from within the Torah itself that his scenario for what happened at the creation was absolutely correct.

This is wonderful exegesis; but then, along came the Interpolator. He of course knew that that passage in *Lev* 12:1-5 specified a further waiting period beyond the one and two weeks. According to *Leviticus*, if the mother gave birth to a boy, after one week of actual impurity she had to wait another 33 days of purification before being able to enter the sanctuary; if she gave birth to a girl, the number was doubled to 66 days. So the Interpolator inserted a passage into *Jubilees* to this effect. Here is the whole passage, with the Interpolator's words in italics:

In the first week Adam and his wife – the rib – were created, and in the second week He showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep (women) in their defilement seven days for a male (child) and for a female two (units) of seven days.

After 40 days had come to an end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden to work and keep it. His wife was brought (there) on the eightieth day. After this she en-

tered the Garden of Eden. For this reason a commandment was written in the Heavenly Tablets for one who gives birth to a child: if she gives birth to a male, she is to remain in her impurity for seven days like the first seven days; then for 33 days she is to remain in the blood of purification. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until she completes these days for a male. As for a female, she is to remain in her impurity for two weeks of days like the first two weeks and 66 days in the blood of purification. Their total is eighty days. After she had completed those 80 days, we brought her into the Garden of Eden, because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy. For this reason the law of these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or a female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed. These are the law and the testimony that were written for Israel to keep for all times.

During the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife spent the seven years in the Garden of Eden, working and guarding it. (*Jub.* 3:8-15)

In inserting this addition, however, the Interpolator completely misconstrued the original author's argument. The original author never meant to imply that Adam and Eve were themselves impure after their creation – how could they be? They were not *born* at all, but created as mature adults by the hand of God; surely God did not impart any impurity to them! Moreover, the law in the *Leviticus* says nothing about the child being impure, only the mother. So on both counts, it is absurd to think the original author intended to say that Adam and Eve were *impure*. Rather, his point was simply that the apparently irrational distinction in *Lev* 12:1-5 – one week for a male and two weeks for a female – makes sense only if you understand *Genesis* the way he did, that it took one week for Adam's creation and two weeks for Eve's; *Leviticus* established the two different periods of impurity in commemoration of this difference. But somehow, the Interpolator thought that *Jubilees'* author was claiming that Adam and Eve were themselves actually impure: therefore, he said, each of them *had* to wait the additional period (33 and 66 days respectively) before entering the Garden of Eden, which, according to an ancient conceit, was itself a sanctuary as holy as the Jerusalem Temple. His insertion thus fundamentally contradicts the original text. (16)

(16) A reflection of this passage has been found in another Qumran text, 4Q265 *Miscellaneous Rules* fragment 7 col. 2: 11-17. For the secondary nature of that text, see: J. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and *Jubilees*," in G. Brooke and F. García Matínez, *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Paris 1992 (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 3-10; A. Shemesh, "4Q265 and the Book of *Jubilees*," *Zion* 73 (2008): 5-20.

Nudity Forbidden

The Interpolator's next insertion concerns public nudity. He raises the subject in connection with the departure of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (again, the Interpolator's words are in italics):

He [God] made clothing out of skins for them, clothed them, and dismissed them from the Garden of Eden. On that day, as he [Adam] was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices – in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame. On that day the mouths of all the animals, the cattle, the birds, everything that walks and everything that moves about were made incapable of speaking, [although] all of them used to converse with one another in one language and one tongue.

He dismissed from the Garden of Eden all the animate beings that were in the Garden of Eden. All animate beings were dispersed – each by its kind and each by its nature – into the places which had been created for them. But of all the animals and cattle He permitted Adam alone to cover his shame. For this reason it has been commanded in the Tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves.

At the beginning of the fourth month, Adam and his wife departed from the Garden of Eden. (*Jub.* 3:26-31)

Thus, the significance of God's making clothing for Adam and Eve is clear: public nudity was henceforth forbidden, at least for Jews ("all those who know the judgment of the law," which might also be translated as "all those who know the law of the Torah"). Non-Jews were apparently not included in this prohibition, since the Interpolator specifically contrasts them to the Jews ("and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves") – an apparent reference to the public nudity practiced in the Hellenistic gymnasium.

But for *Jubilees'* original author, God's making of clothing for Adam and Eve had an entirely different significance, as is evident in the non-italicized paragraph cited above. To understand it, it is necessary to go back to this author's claim that a great "chain of priests" stretched back from the time of Adam onward. There was one little problem with this claim. Unlike Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and the other pre-Sinai priests, Adam is never said in the book of *Genesis* to have built an altar or otherwise offered a sacrifice to God. And with good reason! After all, most of the narrative of Adam and Eve is taken up with their stay in the Garden, where they were naked, while the Torah clearly states that a priest's "nakedness may not be exposed" when he makes an offering (*Exod* 20:23). With that period ruled out, where could *Jubilees'* author claim to have found a hint in *Genesis* that

Adam had functioned as a priest? The mention in *Genesis* that God *made clothes* for Adam and Eve provided this author with the necessary clue. Evidently, God must have done so not out of any love of haberdashery per se, but in order to allow Adam at last to take up his priesthood and worship Him properly. Indeed, the fact that the clothes in question were *tunics* of skin (כתנות עור) suggested that these were indeed priestly garments, since the Pentateuch later specifies that the priest's clothing include a certain kind of "tunic" (*Exod* 28:4, 39, etc.).

Having thus established that Adam was now fit to function as a priest, *Jubilees'* author put him to work offering a sacrifice. Of course, the Bible makes no mention of Adam ever building an altar and sacrificing – but that was no problem for *Jubilees'* author. After all, God had apparently condemned Adam to vegetarianism (*Gen* 3:18), so it was rather logical that Adam's sacrifice would not be an animal offered on an altar, but merely incense. Therefore: "On that day, as he [Adam] was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices – in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame." Here, *Jubilees'* author clearly evokes later priestly law, whereby it is commanded to "take the herbs stacte, onycha, and galbanum, these herbs together with pure frankincense" (*Exod* 30:34). In other words, although that law had not yet officially been promulgated, Adam anticipated its details in the incense offering he chose to make. The original author then concluded his account of these events by saying they took place "in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame," thus explaining why it was only *after* God had given Adam his clothing that he could make this offering. (17)

Thus, *Jubilees'* original author and the Interpolator learned two quite distinct lessons from the account of God's making clothes for Adam and Eve. It is certainly noteworthy that the Interpolator, who had before him the lesson learned by the original author (that God had clothed Adam so as to make him fit to be the first priest in the patriarchal chain of priests), nevertheless did not hesitate to append his own, quite unrelated, lesson (God had clothed Adam because Israel is meant to be clothed). "Did the same divine act have two completely different significances?" was apparently a question that did not occur to the Interpolator – not in this instance, nor in that of

(17) Note that the Interpolator took up the phrase "cover their shame" – a biblical phrase, but not one used in the story of Adam and Eve – and used it as the basis for his own legal lesson: "But of all the animals and cattle He permitted Adam alone to *cover his shame*. For this reason it has been commanded in the Tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they *cover their shame* and not uncover themselves." As in the case of impurity after childbirth seen above, the Interpolator is reacting not to the text of *Genesis* but to the precise wording of *Jubilees*.

God's proclamation of the first sabbath, nor in others to be examined below.

But did the original author's silence on the matter of public nudity mean that he had no objection to it? Not at all. He included his prohibition of public nudity elsewhere, in the seven fundamental commandments (18) transmitted by Noah to his descendants:

During the twenty-eighth jubilee, Noah began to prescribe for his grandsons the ordinances and the commandments – every statute which he knew. He warned his sons that they should do what is right, *cover the shame of their bodies*, bless the one who had created them, love one another, and keep themselves from fornication, uncleanness, and all injustice. (*Jub.* 7:20)

Here there emerges a slight but important difference between the Interpolator's prohibition of public nudity and that of the original author. The former specifically applies only to Jews, while in this passage Noah warns his sons and his grandsons – that is to say, *all of humanity* – to wear clothes; the Greeks and their gymnasia are no exception. Whoever wrote these words could have known nothing of the distinction between Jews and non-Jews appended to the end of the Adam and Eve narrative.

The Day of Atonement

The subject of the Day of Atonement is introduced in chapter 5 of *Jubilees*. Here, taking his lead from *1 Enoch* 10:4-8, the original author asserted that the wicked angels who had led humanity astray before the flood were ordered to be tied up and held “in the depths of the earth” (5:6, 10). Though not often recognized as such, this theme of the binding of the wicked angels actually originated as an exegetical motif, that is, a way of explaining an apparent problem in the biblical narrative. The problem in this case was God's promise in *Gen* 9:11 never to bring another flood to destroy mankind. Why should He have promised such a thing? Surely it was not because He had decided to lower His standards and show a greater tolerance for human wickedness! Instead, it must have been because God did something – restrained the wicked angels – that would prevent humanity as a whole from going astray again. Along with this – again, in keeping with *1 Enoch* 10 – *Jubilees'* author asserted that God “made a new and righteous nature for all His creatures, so that they would not sin with their whole nature until eternity. Everyone will be righteous – each according to his kind – for all time” (*Jub.* 5:12). (19)

(18) Though somewhat different from the “seven Noahide commandments” of rabbinic Judaism, those in *Jubilees* seem to be cognate, both sets ultimately dependent on *Gen* 9:4-6. See my *Traditions of the Bible: a Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 224-26.

(19) Cf. *1 Enoch* 10:16-21: “Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth,

At this point begins an insertion by the Interpolator (*Jub.* 5:13-18), italicized below. As we have already seen, he was not particularly comfortable with the notion of divine opponents of God, even when chained in the depths of the earth. Nor did the idea of a new, perfected humanity seem to sit well with his own sense of reality: if humans became so good after the flood, then why are there still wicked people around? Indeed, God Himself must have intended that such sinners exist, since He continues to have to punish the wicked despite their “new and righteous nature.” Struggling with this problem, the Interpolator came up with a novel solution. The retooling of human nature was actually accompanied by a *tightening* of divine enforcement. Thus, even though the new, improved version of human beings was far better than its predecessor – there would never have to be another flood – it was not perfect; and those humans who failed to meet the new, strict standards of divine justice were now to be punished with the full force of the law:

He [God] made a new and righteous nature for all his creatures so that they would not sin with their whole nature until eternity. Everyone will be righteous, each according to his kind, for all time.

The judgment [presumably מִשְׁפָּט, i.e., the assigned punishment] of them all has been ordained and written in the Heavenly Tablets. There is no perversion of justice. All who transgress from their way in which it was ordained for them to go – if they do not go in it, judgment [i.e., punishment] has been written down for each creature and for each kind. There is nothing that is in heaven or on earth, in the light, the darkness, Sheol, the deep, or in the dark place (20) – all their judgments [punishments] have been ordained, written, and inscribed. He [God] will exercise judgment regarding each person – the great in accord with his greatness and the small one in accord with his smallness – each one in accord with his way. He is not one who shows favoritism nor one who

and let every wicked deed be gone...Then all the earth will be tilled in righteousness...And all the sons of men will become righteous, and all the peoples will worship Me.” Though it is impossible to demonstrate this from any existing text, my suspicion is that there are really two different exegetical motifs here, each of which seeks to answer the same exegetical question. For, if the wicked angels were bound and gagged beneath the earth, then the source of human waywardness would henceforth be restrained; what need was there to create a “new and righteous nature” for humanity? If, on the other hand, God had redesigned human nature after the flood to make it more righteous, then surely it could stand up to the temptations to which it had previously succumbed and there would be no need to bind the wicked angels. Thus, it would seem that this is another case of “overkill”; see my *The Ladder of Jacob* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 65, 90, 126, 158, 162, 112-13, 119-120, 179, 220.

(20) This might conjecturally be emended to: “that is in the dark” – that is, obscured: God sees all sins, no matter how humans try to hide them. Otherwise, “in the dark place” would seem to be redundant after “the darkness” and “Sheol,” and the end of this sentence would appear to be missing. For the latter reason Charles inserted a parenthetical “which is not judged” – but there is no textual support for this emendation; see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or: the Little Genesis* (Jerusalem, Makor: 1972 [reprint of 1902 edition]), 45.

takes a bribe, if He says he will execute judgment against each person. If a person gave everything on earth He would not show favoritism nor would He accept [it] from him, because He is a righteous judge. (Jub. 5:13-16)

Here, in the Interpolator's characteristic phrasing ("ordained and written in the Heavenly Tablets"), is what has been decreed for humanity ever since the flood: unwavering, inflexible, and predetermined divine justice. Naturally, the prospect of such strict standards could not but be rather frightening. To the rescue, however, comes the Day of Atonement.

Regarding the Israelites, [however,] it has been written and ordained: "If they turn to Him in the right way, He will forgive all their wickedness and will pardon all their sins." It has been written and ordained that He will have mercy on all who turn from their errors once each year [that is, on the Day of Atonement]. (5:17-18)

Such, in short, is the Interpolator's understanding of the reason for the Day of Atonement. Having inaugurated the post-flood world of strict divine justice, God provided a unique escape clause for one people, His beloved Israel. If they "turn from their errors," God will erase their sins once every year.

There is, however, another passage in *Jubilees* that discusses the Day of Atonement. It appears many chapters later, in the original author's recounting of the story of Joseph. There, in keeping with the biblical story, Joseph's brothers

slaughtered a he-goat, stained Joseph's clothing by dipping it in its blood, and sent it to their father on the tenth of the seventh month. He mourned all that night, because they had brought it to him in the evening... For this reason it has been ordained that regarding the Israelites that they should be distressed on the tenth of the seventh month – on the day when [the news] which made [him] lament Joseph reached his father Jacob – in order to make atonement for themselves on it with a kid – on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year – for their sins. For they had saddened their father's [feelings of] affection for his son Joseph. This day has been ordained so that they may be saddened on it for their sins, all their transgressions, and all their errors; so that they may purify themselves on this day once a year. (*Jub.* 34:12-15)

This, clearly, is a second explanation for the existence of the Day of Atonement. But that very fact should be surprising: why should *Jubilees* have presented two quite separate etiologies for the Day of Atonement, the first having occurred in the days of Noah and the second many generations later, in the time of Jacob? More than that, however, a close examination of the two passages reveals a crucial difference. The first passage stipulates that the Israelites will be forgiven "if they turn to Him in the right way," and it reinforces the

idea by further asserting that “He will have mercy on all who turn from their errors.”

The second passage knows nothing of such “turning to God.” Here, the Day of Atonement is simply a sad day, a day of mourning, “This day has been ordained so that they may be saddened on it for their sins.” There is another difference as well. The first passage is essentially a reaction to the book of *Jubilees* and its claim (in turn based on *1 Enoch*) that the wicked angels were bound forever under the earth and that human nature was subsequently redesigned. (Of course, nothing of this kind exists in *Genesis*). Not liking this idea but unable to eliminate it from the book, the Interpolator provided his own coda: True, God changed human nature after the flood – but in consequence He also imposed a new era of strict divine justice, which in turn led the Interpolator to the subject of the Day of Atonement. This elaborating on *Jubilees* (rather than on *Genesis*) is, as noted, altogether characteristic of the Interpolator. By contrast, the second passage, by *Jubilees*’ original author, derives straight from the *Genesis* narrative of Joseph. Indeed, the author is at pains to connect every aspect of the Day of Atonement to the story of Joseph: the news reached Jacob at night, he says, hence, observance of the Day of Atonement is said to run “from evening to evening” (*Lev* 23:32); Jacob’s robe was soaked in goat’s blood, hence atonement is to be accomplished on that day with a kid; Jacob mourned for Joseph, hence the Israelites mourn for their sins.

In short, these two passages present two different etiologies for the Day of Atonement at two different points in history, with two different explanations of the day’s nature and purpose, and with clear stylistic differences (the first passage is characterized by the “special terminology of the Heavenly Tablets,” the second is not). In addition, the two passages well illustrate a difference in the two authors’ methods of operation: the original author generally sticks close to *Genesis*, while the Interpolator creates out of whole cloth his own motif – that of the new “strict justice” – as a way of introducing the subject of the Day of Atonement. (21)

The Offering of Isaac and the Passover Festival

Another of the Interpolator’s insertions is to be found in *Jubilees*’ account of the *Aqedah*, when Abraham is ordered to offer his son Isaac as a sacrifice to God (*Jub.* 17:15-18:17). *Jubilees*’ original

(21) Segal does not discuss the Day of Atonement reference in *Jub.* 5:17. He attributes *Jub.* 34:12-15 to the “halakhic redactor” – probably because “it has been ordained that...” is close to the Interpolator’s signature phrase, “it has been written and ordained.” But the two are not the same; the latter means “written and ordained in the Heavenly Tablets,” while the original author meant simply that the Day of Atonement had been ordained in the *Torah*.

author recounted this episode at length, adding many exegetical details to explain various perceived problems in the biblical narrative – but that is not our subject here. (22) The Interpolator added to the original author's account only two sentences, vv. 18:18-19, which deal with the seven days of the Passover festival. The dissonance between these two verses and the preceding narrative has already been examined in detail; (23) what I wish to show here is how, and why, the Interpolator misunderstood the author's preceding narrative. In order to understand his misunderstanding, however, it is necessary first to say something in general about the original author's dating of events.

The author of *Jubilees* occasionally specified not only the year in which something occurred, but also the month and the day. In general, he did this only for what he considered to be important events, and to such events he assigned what he considered the two *significant days* that occur in each month, the first and the fifteenth or "middle" of the month. In *Jubilees*, important or good things happen on these days, whereas unimportant or bad things do not. (24) The matter is clearest in the dates the author assigns for the birth of Jacob's sons (*Jub.* 28:11-24). The "good" sons, Levi, Judah, and Joseph, are all born on *significant days* – Levi on the first of the first month, Judah on the fifteenth of the third month, (25) and Joseph on the first of the fourth month. The other sons are all quite pointedly born on insignificant days – Reuben on the fourteenth of the ninth month, Simeon on the twenty-first of the tenth month, Dan on the ninth of the sixth month, and so on. The same is true of events: Abraham offers a sacrifice at Bethel on the first of an unnamed month (*Jub.* 13:8); God promises Abraham numerous descendants on the first of the third month (*Jub.* 14:1); the angels appear to Abraham on the first of the fourth month (*Jub.* 16:1); Isaac was born on the fifteenth of the third month (16:13); and so forth. (26) Unimportant or unfortunate events

(22) Segal seeks to claim that the Interpolator is responsible for the entire section on the offering of Isaac, *Jub.* 17:15-18:19, suggesting that four elements in the *Jubilees* narrative are designed to suggest parallels between it and the festival of Passover: the dating of the story, "Isaac as a firstborn son," the mention of a "sheep" as the missing sacrificial animal, and the location of the event on Mount Zion. But of these four, the last three come from the Bible itself, as Segal points out. That leaves only one potential element – the date specified in the *Jubilees* narrative – to connect the narrative to the Interpolator's insertion. As will be shown, the date actually argues quite the opposite case.

(23) It was discussed by Segal, 189-202.

(24) See L. Ravid, "The Book of *Jubilees* and Its Calendar—A Reexamination," *DSD* 10 (2003): 371-94.

(25) This is also the date of the Feast of First Fruits in *Jubilees* – see below.

(26) Further examples: Abraham passes the test of the binding of Isaac on the fifteenth of the first month; God appeared again to Abraham on the first of the first month (*Jub.* 24:22); Jacob arrived in Bethel on the first of the first month (27:19) the pact between Jacob and Laban takes place on the fifteenth of the seventh month. Note

– with exception made for the birth of Jacob’s insignificant sons – are generally not assigned dates.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the original author specified that Abraham set out on his mission to offer up Isaac as a sacrifice on the twelfth of the first month. Since the biblical narrative specified that Abraham actually arrived at the designated place “on the third day” (*Gen* 22:4), this would make Abraham pass his divinely imposed test on the *significant day* of the fifteenth of the first month. But the Interpolator misunderstood this as some sort of adumbration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Passover), celebrated on the same day. As a result, he added something at the conclusion of the original author’s narrative:

Then Abraham went to his servants. They set out and went together to Beersheba. Abraham lived at the well of the oath.

He used to celebrate this festival joyfully for seven days during all the years. He named it the festival of the Lord, in accord with the seven days during which he went and returned safely. This is the way that it is ordained and written in the Heavenly Tablets regarding Israel and his descendants: (they are) to celebrate this festival for seven days with festal happiness.

During the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and lived opposite Hebron – that is, Kiriath Arba – for two weeks of years. (*Jub.* 18:17-19:1)

The first three sentences cited above are the original author’s; they correspond to the last verse of the biblical narrative, *Gen* 22:19. The portion in italics that follows is the Interpolator’s insertion. It is easy to see why, failing to understand the difference between the original author’s fondness for *significant days* and that same author’s occasional creation of actual *precedents* for holy days (like the Day of Atonement, or the Festival of Booths discussed below), the Interpolator might think that the original author’s account of the Offering of Isaac was intended as a precedent for the holiday of Passover. But the narrative actually suggests nothing of the kind. (27) The original author had simply chosen the fifteenth of the first month for Abraham’s passing the test because it was a *significant day*.

In misconstruing the original author’s intention, however, the Interpolator created an absurdity. According to the original author, the

that, with regard to the flood, the dates that are not dependent on the biblical chronology are also *significant days*: “the new moon of the seventh month,” “the first of the tenth month,” “the first of the first month” (*Jub.* 5:30-31).

(27) What is more, the original author quite properly discussed the laws of Passover as part of his exodus narrative, in *Jub.* 49:18-21. As far as he was concerned, that festival needed no precedent in patriarchal times, since in any case it had been proclaimed in the Pentateuch in *Exodus* 12, that is, long before the Sinai covenant. Since establishing Israel’s *pre-Sinai* bond with God was his real concern, not every piece of evidence thereof had to go back to patriarchal times.

incident began with Abraham setting out on the twelfth of the first month. The Interpolator then claimed that it took seven days for Abraham to depart and return home, hence the festival of Passover will last seven days, "in accord with the seven days during which he went and returned safely." But if so, why does not the festival begin on the twelfth of the month? What kind of precedent is it if the dates of the seven days do not match the biblical dates for this seven-day festival?

The Festival of Booths

If Passover did not require a precedent in patriarchal times, (28) that was not the case with the other two great festivals, Booths (*Sukkot*) and Weeks (*Šabu'ot*); thus, the original author sought to find precedents for both of these in the life of Abraham, Israel's ancestor. He took up the matter of Booths in *Jub.* 16:15-19. He had already recounted Isaac's birth and circumcision (16:13-14), but he then went backwards in time in order to relate an appearance of angels to Abraham that had taken place earlier, while Sarah was still pregnant with Isaac. This arrangement is somewhat confusing, (29) but altogether deliberate.

In the sixth year of the fourth week, we came to Abraham at the well of the oath [i.e., Beersheba]. We appeared to him just as we had said to Sarah that we would return to her and she would have become pregnant with a son. We returned during the seventh month, and in front of us we found Sarah pregnant. We blessed him [Abraham] and told him everything that had been commanded for him...All the descendants of his sons would become nations and be numbered with the nations. But one of Isaac's sons would become a holy seed and would not be numbered among the nations, for he would become the share of the Most High... a special possession [of God's] from all peoples, and that they would become a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (30)...The two of them were extremely happy. (*Jub.* 16:15-19)

Here, the angelic narrator of *Jubilees* reports that "we [angels] appeared to him" (Abraham) after "she [had] become pregnant with a son," but before the birth. There is no such angelic appearance re-

(28) See preceding note.

(29) See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 115n.

(30) VanderKam translates the Ethiopic: "a people whom the Lord possesses out of all the nations, and that they would become a kingdom, a priesthood, and a holy people." The allusion to *Exod* 19:6 is clear, but that phrase had become mired in controversy in Second Temple times; see my *Traditions of the Bible*, 671-74. To the bibliography there add D. R. Schwartz, "'A Kingdom of Priests' – a Pharisaic Slogan?" in his *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60) (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), 57-80. Here I have restored what probably was the original Hebrew text.

ported in *Genesis*. (This is *not* the appearance of the three angels to Abraham in *Gen* 18:1-15; at that time, Sarah was not pregnant – indeed, one of the angels’ purposes in coming was to announce that Sarah’s long period of infertility would soon come to an end.) What gave the author of *Jubilees* the right to invent this second angelic appearance to Abraham – and why did he invent it?

The answer to the first question lies in *Gen* 18:10 and 14; in both these verses, the angels assert that they will return to Abraham “and Sarah shall have a son.” To *Jubilees*’ author, this cannot mean that the angels are, as it were, speaking on God’s behalf and announcing that *He* will return and that, as a consequence, “Sarah will have a son”; for this author, angels are clearly different from God. Besides, God had already announced that He would return in *Gen* 17:21, and that promise is carried out in *Gen* 21:1. Thus, when the angels said that *they* would return, they must have meant that they would come back *at the time* when Sarah already “had” a son, namely, after her son had been *conceived* and was safely in her womb. Since such a second angelic appearance seemed to *Jubilees*’ author to be implied by the angels’ words in *Gen* 18:10 and 14, he took it upon himself to fill in the details.

The details are these: The angels appeared again to Abraham “in the seventh month,” one month after God had enabled Sarah to become pregnant (*Jub.* 16:12), and they used the occasion to inform Abraham that he would have numerous descendants, and that they would all become nations in their own right. None of these nations, however, would be like Abraham’s descendants through the not-yet-born Isaac and the son that would eventually be born to him, Jacob. The descendants of Jacob, the angels report, are to have a special destiny: they will become a “holy seed” (a crucial biblical phrase for *Jubilees*’ author), (31) one “not counted among the nations” (*Num* 23:9), since they alone will be “the portion of the Most High” (*Deut* 32:9), a “special possession [of God’s] from all peoples” (*Exod* 19:5), indeed, a “kingdom of priests and a holy people” (*Exod* 19:6).

In response to this joyful news, the original author reports, Abraham celebrated what was to become the Feast of Booths (*Sukkot*), since that is the festival of “joy” par excellence, the only festival on which the Torah commands that people rejoice (*Lev* 23:40, *Deut* 16:14): (32)

(31) Based on *Isa* 6:13 and *Ezra* 9:2; see on this Kugel, “The Holiness of Israel and its Land in Second Temple Times,” Michael Fox, *Texts, Temples, Traditions: Menahem Haran Festschrift* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 21-32

(32) Segal apparently failed to understand this and sought to pin the connection of this angelic visit with the joyful Festival of Booths on the use of the verb צחק (in the sense of “be happy”) in *Gen* 18:12 and 21:6. But this appears to be wrong: the *Jubilees* narrative quite clearly says that the reason for Abraham and Sarah’s rejoicing

There he built an altar for the Lord who had rescued him and who was making him so happy in the country where he resided as an alien. He celebrated a joyful festival in this month for seven days, near the altar which he had built at the well of the oath. He constructed tents for himself and his servants during this festival. He was the first to celebrate the Festival of Booths on the earth. During these seven days he was making – throughout all the days, each and every day – an offering to the Lord on the altar: two bulls, two rams, seven sheep, one goat for sins in order to atone through it for himself and his descendants. And as a peace offering: seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, seven he-goats as well as their [cereal-] offerings and their libations over all their fat – [all of these] he would burn on the altar as a choice offering for a pleasing fragrance. In the morning and evening he would burn fragrant substances: frankincense, galbanum, stacte, nard, myrrh, aromatic spices, and costum. All seven of these he would offer beaten, equally mixed, pure. He celebrated this festival for seven days, being happy with his whole heart and all his being – he and all those who belonged to his household. There was no foreigner with him, not anyone who was uncircumcised. He blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation because He had created him for His pleasure, for he knew and ascertained that from him there come forth a righteous plant for the history of eternity and [that] from him there would be holy descendants so that they should be like the one who had made everything. He gave a blessing and was very happy. He named this festival the festival of the Lord – a joy acceptable to the Most High God. (*Jub.* 16:20-27)

Here, *Jubilees'* author has Abraham anticipate the Festival of Booths as outlined later in the Pentateuch. Abraham thanks God for "making him so happy in the country where he resided as an alien," since joy is the theme of this festival; then, for some unspecified reason, Abraham constructs tents for himself and his servants, thus foreshadowing the celebratory booths that gave this festival its name (contrast the reason given in *Lev* 23:43). That this celebration is indeed a precedent for the later holiday is not given to doubt: "He was the first to celebrate the Festival of Booths on the earth," *Jubilees'* author writes. The sacrificial offerings made by Abraham are somewhat more modest than those prescribed in *Num* 29:12-40, perhaps out of realism, since even Abraham and his ample household could hardly be expected to offer (or consume) so many sacrificial animals. In keeping with his horror of foreigners and their impurity, *Jubilees'* author also specifies that "there was no foreigner with him, not anyone who was uncircumcised." (Such a requirement exists for partaking of the Passover offering [*Exod* 12:43, 48], but for the reason

had nothing to do with the announcement of Isaac's birth in *Gen* 18:10, nor any expression of "her joy after the birth of her son" (Segal 305n). The cause of Abraham and Sarah's rejoicing was this *other* angelic visit, unreported but hinted at in Genesis, in which the angels returned *during* Sarah's pregnancy to announce that among the couple's descendants would be one, Jacob, who "would become a holy seed."

stated, *Jubilees'* author here extends it to this festival as well.) The account concludes by stressing Abraham's joy upon hearing the angels' announcement about his future descendants. Abraham names this festival "the festival of the Lord," in keeping with the fact that *Sukkot* came regularly to be called "*the festival*" in biblical and rabbinic texts, (33) though this is not its "official" name.

To this description the Interpolator appends his own, by now familiar, brand of supplementary material:

He named this festival the festival of the Lord – a joy acceptable to the Most High God.

We [angels] blessed him eternally and all the descendants who would follow him throughout all the history of the earth, because he had celebrated this festival at its time in accord with the testimony of the Heavenly Tablets. For this reason it has been ordained on the Heavenly Tablets regarding Israel that they should celebrate the festival of tabernacles joyfully for seven days during the seventh month which is acceptable in the Lord's presence – a law which is eternal throughout their history in each and every year. This has no temporal limit because it is ordained forever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it, live in tents, place wreaths on their heads, and take leafy branches and willow branches from the stream. (34) So Abraham took palm branches and the fruit of good trees, and each and every day he would go around the altar with branches, seven times per day. In the morning he would give praise and joyfully offer humble thanks to God for everything.

In the first year of the fifth week, in this Jubilee, Isaac was weaned. (*Jub.* 16:28-17:1)

Here, amid the Interpolator's signature boilerplate ("throughout all the history of the earth," "it has been ordained on the Heavenly Tablets," "a law which is eternal throughout their history in each and every year" (35) and "has no temporal limit because it is ordained forever"), the angels eternally bless Abraham because he has ob-

(33) See *1 Kings* 8:2, 65; *12:32*; *Ezek* 45:25; *m. Rosh ha-Shanah* 1:2; etc.

(34) A few textual observations: "For this reason" seems to represent Hebrew *'al ken* and should therefore be understood as "in keeping with this," rather than its more common meaning of "therefore." As for the mode of the holiday's celebration, people place "wreaths" on their heads (probably Hebrew *'abotim*) on their heads: an otherwise unattested custom, perhaps reflected in *Ps* 118:27; take branches of leaves: should be: "thick leaves" (=Lat. *accipere ramos denos*, a mistake for *densos*), the equivalent of *Lev* 23:40 *'anffeil 'es 'abot* and willows from the stream: *'arbei nahal* in the same verse. Missing in this list is the taking of "the fruit of a *hadar* [or "goodly"] tree" and "branches of palm trees," though perhaps the latter is somehow connected to the "wreaths" mentioned above, since *kippah* is a term for light headgear in MH (*m. Ketubot* 5:8). Jews used to go around the altar with branches as part of the *Sukkot* celebration in 2T times.

(35) Note that the expression "in each and every year" is also characteristic of the Interpolator, used exclusively in passages authored by him: *5:18*, *22*; *18:18*; *49:8*, *15*, *22*.

served this feast in accordance with what had been written long before in the Heavenly Tablets. In describing what is written there, the Interpolator repeats what the original author had already said: that the festival is celebrated for seven days during the seventh month, and that the Israelites are to “live in tents.”

But *Jubilees*’ author had omitted from his description of the festival the curious provision of *Lev* 23:40: “On the first day you shall take the product of a goodly tree, branches of palm trees, boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook, and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days.” It is not clear why the author had omitted these details, but whatever the reason, the Interpolator felt compelled to “complete” what the original author had said (just as he had felt with regard to the 33- and 66-day waiting periods in his revision of the original author’s legal teaching about Adam and Eve). That is why he composed this insertion.

The manner of his insertion is revealing about his method. Here, as elsewhere, *the Interpolator is not a rewriter*; he does not edit or rework the original text. Were he of a mind to do so, he would no doubt have integrated these additional details about taking palm branches and the fruit of goodly trees into a rewriting of the initial description of Abraham’s observance of the festival back in *Jub.* 16:20-24. Then, after having described what Abraham did, he could go on to assert that *all* this was in keeping with what is written in the Heavenly Tablets. But his interpolations throughout the book are just that, *interpolations* into an existing text, single blocks of writing that often end up repeating some of what had already been said by the original author; they are also frequently somewhat out of place or in other ways at odds with what the original author had written. Such is the present case as well. After the original author’s description of Abraham’s observance of the festival, the Interpolator stuck in the rules of the festival as written in the Heavenly Tablets. These begin by repeating the original author’s stipulations about the seven days, joyful celebration, and living in tents. But the rest of the Interpolator’s rules do not match the original author’s description of what Abraham did. So, after finishing his rules, the Interpolator was obliged to insert in a further description of what Abraham did (he “took palm branches and the fruit of good trees...”etc.) to bring his actions into conformity with the Heavenly Tablets. (36) The awk-

(36) According to this insertion, the Israelites are, in addition to having to “live in tents,” ordered to “place wreaths on their heads, and take leafy branches and willow branches from the stream.” This does not quite correspond to *Lev.* 23:40, and commentators have been puzzled by this formulation. The custom of “wreaths” is otherwise unattested, but it may represent a reading of MT *kappot temarim*, “branches of palm trees” as *kippot temarim*, since *kippah* is a term for light headgear in Mishnaic Hebrew (m. *Ketubot* 5:8). To “take leafy branches” should be amended in the light of the Latin as “thick leaves” (=Lat. *accipere ramos denos*, a mistake for

wardness of this arrangement hardly needs to be stressed, but it was necessary precisely because he was *not* a rewriter.

The Festival of Weeks and First Fruits

We come now to the Interpolator's handling of the Festival of Weeks, one of his longest and most ambitious interpolations. It appears in connection with God's covenant with Noah after the flood (*Gen* 9:8-17).

The original author of *Jubilees* had narrated the events following the flood without too many changes. As might be expected, he mentioned by name the different animals that Noah offered to God, thereby putting Noah's sacrifice into conformity with later priestly practice. He also introduced a slight, but significant, change in the order of events, asserting that God, immediately upon smelling the sweet odor of Noah's sacrifice, "made a covenant with him [Noah]" (*Jub.* 6:4). In *Genesis* this covenant is not mentioned until eleven verses later (*Gen* 8:21, 9:9). Apparently, it was important for the original author to imply that Noah's sacrifice was actually part of a *covenant ceremony*, and that further, this covenant involved an obligation on the part of Noah and his descendants. In *Genesis*, of course, God's promise never to bring another universal flood comes without conditions. But by introducing the word "covenant" *before* God's undertaking never to bring another flood, *Jubilees'* author seemed to imply, without quite saying so, that God's promise was made in the context of a mutual agreement which called on Noah's descendants never to eat blood: "But you are not to eat animate beings with their spirit – with the blood – because the vital force of all animate beings is in the blood" (*Jub.* 6:7). Thus, the whole biblical narrative from *Gen* 8:20 to 9:17 became, for *Jubilees'* author, one great covenant ceremony. (37) It was, like the later covenants between God and

densos), the equivalent of *Lev* 23:40 'anp[ei] 'eš 'abot while "willow branches from streams" is clearly 'arbei nahal in the same verse. Missing from this list is the taking of "the fruit of a *hadar* [or "goodly"] tree," but its omission seems likely the result of a copying error early in the text's transmission, since it is clearly present in the next sentence. Having added these requirements, the Interpolator then asserts that Abraham followed them as well, taking "*lulabim* of palm trees and the fruit of good trees." The *lulabim* were apparently the original reading of the text; see the discussion in VanderKam, 101-102n. (It is to be noted that *lulab* here would seem to indicate the entire *lulab* cluster, which included the 'eš 'abot and willow branches as well.) Since Jews used to "go around the altar with the branches" as part of the *Sukkot* celebration in Second Temple times, Abraham does so as well.

(37) Blood was certainly an important issue for the original author. He frequently mentions that human bloodshed corrupts the earth (above on Cain and Abel; see also 7:23-24, 27-28, 33; 11:2, 5; 21:19, 23:23). He also refers to the interdiction of consuming sacrificial blood (as here, but also 7:28-29, 32; 21:6, 18) and the related requirement of covering sacrificial blood (7:30-31, 11:2; 21:7). (Blood consumption was forbidden in *Lev* 3:17; 17:10, 12 and *Deut* 12:16, 23-25, while the

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, another proof that God's connection to Israel dated back to its earliest ancestors, and that, as with these other covenants, the one with Noah had imposed obligations on both parties – a binding agreement in every sense.

Jubilees' author was also careful to date Noah's sacrifice to the *significant day* of "the first of the third month" (*Jub.* 6:1). This was hardly an unreasonable dating – *Genesis* itself had said that the earth became completely dry on the twenty-seventh day of the second month (*Gen* 8:14); one could logically suppose that it took a little time for Noah and his family to disembark from the ark and build an altar. Apart from these changes, *Jubilees'* author was basically content to follow the biblical narrative. He paraphrased God's words of blessing and instruction to Noah and his sons (*Gen* 8:21-9:7) and concluded with an account of the rainbow as a sign of God's covenant (*Jub.* 6:15-16).

It was into this account of Noah's sacrifice and God's blessing that the Interpolator inserted the first of two separate interpolations, whose overall purpose was to combat something in the Torah that the Interpolator found highly disturbing: the idea that the date of the Festival of Weeks (*Šabu'ot*) was to be determined each year by human beings counting off a series of seven weeks (*Lev* 23:15-21, *Deut* 16:9-11).

[God blessed Noah and his sons, concluding:] "As for you – increase and become numerous on the earth."

Noah and his sons swore an oath not to consume any blood that was in any animate being. During this month he made a covenant before the Lord God forever through all the history of the earth. For this reason He told you, too [Moses], to make a covenant – accompanied by an oath – with the Israelites during this month on the mountain and to sprinkle blood on them because of all the words of the covenant which the Lord was making with them for all times. This testimony [i.e., this law] has been written regarding you to keep it for all times, so that you may not at any time eat any blood of animals or birds through all the days of the earth. [As for] the person who has eaten the blood of an animal, of cattle, or of birds during all the days of the earth – he and his

related requirement of covering the animal's blood after its slaughter is based on *Lev* 17:11-14, 19:26 and *Deut* 12:15-16, 20-26.) It was especially the twin matters of not consuming sacrificial blood and covering it after slaughter that interested the Interpolator, perhaps because the application of these rules was apparently the subject of sharp sectarian disagreement in Second Temple times. See on this: C. Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95): 621-36; W. K. Gilders, "Blood and Covenant: Interpretive Elaborations on Genesis 9.4-6 in the Book of *Jubilees*," *JSOP* 15 (2006): 83-118. So it was that the Interpolator saw in the original author's account of Noah's sacrifice after the flood – including God's stern warning to Noah "not to eat animate beings with their spirit, with the blood" (*Jub.* 6:7, cf. *Gen* 9:4) – an opportunity to elaborate on this subject as well as on the meaning of the (quite unrelated) festival of *Šabu'ot*.

descendants will be uprooted from the earth. Now you [Moses] command the Israelites not to eat any blood so that their name and their descendants may continue to exist before the Lord our God for all time. This law has no temporal limits because it is forever. They are to keep it throughout history so that they may continue supplicating for themselves with blood in front of the altar each and every day. In the morning and in the evening they are continually to ask pardon for themselves before the Lord so that they may keep it and not be uprooted.

He gave Noah and his sons a sign that there would not again be a flood on the earth. He put his bow in the clouds as a sign of the eternal covenant that there would not henceforth be flood waters on the earth for the purpose of destroying it throughout all the days of the earth. (6:9-16)

Here again is the Interpolator's usual signature: a law valid "forever through all the history of the earth," "Now you [Moses] command the Israelites," "This law has no temporal limits because it is forever," and so forth. But the content of this insertion is most important. The oath sworn by Noah and his sons not to eat blood is the Interpolator's invention – there is no such oath in *Genesis*. Its purpose, as was understood long ago, (38) was to lay the foundation for a verbal tie between the word for "oaths" (*šebu'ot*) and the holiday that the Interpolator wished to associate with it, the Festival of Weeks (*Šabu'ot*), otherwise known as the Festival of First Fruits. Before the Interpolator could get to that subject, however, he sought to associate God's promulgation of the blood-prohibition to Noah with two quite unrelated issues.

The first was the Sinai covenant. The Interpolator had the book's narrator remind Moses that God "told you, too, to make a covenant – accompanied by an oath – with the Israelites during this month on the mountain and to sprinkle blood on them because of all the words of the covenant which the Lord was making with them for all times." Here he alludes to a rather mysterious element in the biblical account of the Sinai covenant: in an otherwise unparalleled gesture, Moses is said there to have sprinkled blood *on the people* at the conclusion of that covenant (*Exod* 24:8). The reason Moses did so, according to the Interpolator, was as a reminder of the oath that Noah and his sons had sworn centuries before: "We won't ever eat blood!" Of course, *Exodus* did not say anything of the kind, but that hardly mattered. In presenting things in this fashion, the Interpolator suggested that the blood prohibition was absolutely crucial (which, to him, it was), and further implied that the covenants with Noah and Moses were not only linked by date (the third month) but also by content (which, truly, they were not).

(38) See S. Zeitlin, *The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and its Significance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1939), 6.

The second issue addressed by this interpolation was handled a little less deftly. Having reiterated the prohibition of consuming blood, he tried to connect this prohibition to a law that appears later in the Pentateuch, in this case, the requirement that the priests offer two daily *tamid* sacrifices “in the morning and in the evening” (see *Exod* 29:38-42 and *Num* 28:3-8). Unfortunately for the Interpolator, the Pentateuch’s account of the *tamid* sacrifices mentions nothing about blood, (39) and it certainly says nothing about not *consuming* blood – but that did not stop him. He therefore asserted that the Israelites “are to keep it [the prohibition of blood consumption] throughout history *so that* they may continue supplicating for themselves with blood in front of the altar,” as if to say that the *tamid* sacrifices are only made possible by Israel’s renunciation of consuming blood.

The text then returns to the original author’s words, followed by the Interpolator’s second insertion:

He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there would not again be a flood on the earth. He put his bow in the clouds as a sign of the eternal covenant that there would not henceforth be flood waters on the earth for the purpose of destroying it throughout all the days of the earth.

For this reason it has been ordained and written on the Heavenly Tablets that they should celebrate the Festival of [Oaths] during this month – once a year – to renew the covenant each and every year. This entire festival has been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah – for 26 Jubilees and five weeks of years. Then Noah and his sons kept it for seven Jubilees and one week of years until Noah’s death. From the day of Noah’s death his sons corrupted [it] until Abraham’s lifetime and were eating blood. Abraham alone kept [it], and his sons Isaac and Jacob kept it until your lifetime [Moses]. During your lifetime the Israelites had forgotten [it] until I renewed [it] for them at this mountain. (40) (6:15-19)

The interpolation begins “For this reason” (presumably, על כן), but once again, it really has nothing to do with what the original author had just said about the rainbow as a sign of Noah’s covenant.

(39) Although, like any other regular burnt offering, it required the dashing of the blood on the altar – *Lev* 1:5.

(40) This strange assertion that the festival was forgotten *twice* – once by everyone after Noah’s death, until Abraham “renewed” it, and then again during the lifetime of Moses – seems designed to accomplish two separate purposes. Although it started out as a universal festival – Noah’s descendants represent all of humanity – it became an exclusively Israelite festival by being passed down exclusively through the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob line. The second purpose had to do with the distinct identity of *Šabu’ot*: As will be seen below, the Interpolator sought to claim that from the time of Noah until the Sinai covenant, *Šabu’ot* was a completely different festival from First Fruits. The Interpolator thus arranged to have *Šabu’ot* “forgotten” a second time in order for its laws to be re-promulgated at Mount Sinai, this time as a combined festival with First Fruits.

Rather, it is a quite unrelated assertion that Noah's covenant is to be "renewed" each and every year by means of a special festival, the "Festival of Weeks/Oaths." This is the more common biblical name for the Festival of First Fruits (see *Exod* 34:22, *Num* 28s:26, *Deut* 16:10, 16, etc.). It is called "Weeks" in the Bible because its date was arrived at by counting off seven weeks from the day the first offering of the new barley crop (called the 'omer) was made before God (*Lev* 23:15-21, *Deut* 16:9-11). But to the Interpolator, the whole idea of human beings having some role in determining the date of one of God's holy days must have seemed horrible. Elsewhere, he intoned against those who "carefully observe the moon" and thereby make "a profane day a festival" (*Jub.* 6:36-37) – an allusion to the practice (normative in rabbinic Judaism) of determining the start of each month, and hence of any festival that falls within that month, on the basis of human sightings of the fleeting sliver of the new moon. Surely, for someone who believed that all had been written in advance in the Heavenly Tablets, this procedure must have seemed altogether wrong – and to have human beings determine the date of the Festival of Weeks by counting off weeks could hardly have looked any better to him. What is more, different groups within Judaism differed as to when this counting of weeks was to start: the Pentateuch specified it was to begin "the day after the sabbath" (*Lev* 23:15) – but which sabbath was that? The whole subject was mired in controversy. (41)

It was to undo all this, as well as to stress the blood prohibition, that the Interpolator undertook his ambitious project – recasting the Festival of Weeks (*Šabu'ot*) as the Festival of Oaths (*Šebu'ot*), a commemoration of the oaths (which he himself invented) sworn by Noah and his sons never to consume blood. If it was Oaths, then humans counting off *weeks* need have nothing to do with it. (42) The Interpolator therefore makes no mention in the above-cited passage of anyone counting off of seven weeks – in fact, he asserts that "This entire festival has been celebrated *in heaven* from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah – for 26 *Jubilees* and five weeks of years." Obviously, if it was celebrated in heaven from the time of creation, there were no human beings counting weeks to determine its date. In fact, Noah's celebrating it here simply marked its first arrival on earth.

(41) See on this J. Milgrom, *Leviticus* (Anchor Bible) (New York: Doubleday 2001), 2040; Kugel, *Traditions*, 770-72.

(42) But if so, then why does the Pentateuch specifically mention *counting* seven weeks (*Lev* 23:15 and *Deut* 16:9)? I suspect that the Interpolator's answers might have been that this instruction was given as an *aide-memoire* ("You shall count *for yourselves*," it says in both these passages) but that it had nothing to do with the essence of the festival. For the Interpolator, the Festival of Oaths *never* had an exact date: it was simply to be celebrated sometime in the third month. Only in its combined form with First Fruits did it come to follow Abraham's precedent and be celebrated in "the middle of the month" – like the other two pilgrimage festivals.

But however one chooses to interpret its name, this festival has, in the Bible's description of it, absolutely nothing to do with Noah's covenant (or that of Moses at Mount Sinai, for that matter). It is an agricultural festival, the beginning of the wheat harvest – that is what the Pentateuch consistently says, and that is how *Jubilees'* original author viewed it as well. In fact, not surprisingly, *Jubilees'* author had been careful to establish a precedent for this festival in his narration of the life of Abraham (just as he had done with the Festival of Booths described above):

During the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the Festival of the First Fruits of the wheat harvest. He offered as a new sacrifice on the altar, the first fruits of the food for the Lord – a bull, a ram, and a sheep; [he offered them] on the altar as a sacrifice to the Lord, together with their [cereal] offerings and their libations. He offered everything on the altar with frankincense. (*Jub.* 15:1-2)

Given this passage, how could the Interpolator claim that this clearly agricultural festival had any connection with an oath sworn by Noah and his sons? This was a problem. And surely there was no need for the same festival to have two precedents, one in the time of Noah and the second in the time of Abraham. Moreover, while the original author had made it clear that Abraham's offering was a precedent for First Fruits, his description of Noah's offering had, of course, said nothing about any first fruits. In addition to all this, Noah's offering did not even take place on the right day: it occurred "on the *first* of the third month" (*Jub.* 6:1), whereas for Jubilee's author, the Festival of First Fruits takes place on the *fifteenth* of that month. (43)

In the face of such possible objections, the Interpolator took a bold step. He asserted that the Festival of Oaths (*Šebu'ot*) had originally been an entirely separate festival from that of First Fruits – they have two names in the Bible because, at first, they were quite unrelated. First Fruits was indeed an agricultural festival inaugurated by Abraham, but Oaths was a commemoration of Noah's covenant with God. If so, there was no problem in the fact that *Jubilees'* author had dated Noah's covenant on the first of the month and not the fifteenth, nor in the fact that Noah's offering had nothing to do with first fruits. On the contrary, two separate festivals required two separate prec-

(43) I hope it is clear by now that there are two writers at work here, the original author and the Interpolator. Certainly if the original author had wished in any way to associate Noah's covenant with First Fruits, he could have effortlessly postponed Noah's sacrifice to the fifteenth of the month; he also could have described Abraham's First Fruits sacrifice as a "renewal of the covenant with Noah," as the Interpolator would have wished. But he, of course, he did none of these things because he had no inkling of what the Interpolator would have in mind.

edents with two separate dates. Indeed, even Abraham had kept the two separately; the Interpolator was careful to insert a brief mention that, in addition to inaugurating First Fruits, Abraham had also “renewed the festival [of Oaths] and the ordinance for himself forever” (*Jub.* 14:20b).

But if they were originally two separate festivals, why does the Pentateuch act as if they were one in the same, apparently using the names “First Fruits” and “Weeks/Oaths” interchangeably? The Interpolator’s answer is that the two originally separate festivals were fused into one on Mount Sinai. The Pentateuch may have continued to use the two names as a hint to their different origins, but, as the angel of the Presence makes clear to Moses, from the time of Sinai on, they are to be celebrated simultaneously:

Now you [Moses] command the Israelites to keep this festival during all their generations as a commandment for them: one day in the year, during this month, they are to celebrate the festival, because it is a Festival of [Oaths] and it is a Festival of First Fruits. This festival is twofold and of two kinds. Celebrate it as it is written and inscribed regarding it. For I have written [this] in the book of the first law [i.e., the Pentateuch] in which I wrote for you that you should celebrate it at each of its times one day in a year. (44) I have told you about its sacrifice so that the Israelites may continue to remember and celebrate it throughout their generations during this month – one day each year. (Jub. 6:20-22)

Here, clearly, these two originally separate third-month festivals are to be combined: “it is [both] a Festival of [Oaths] and it is a Festival of First Fruits.” As a result, the two will henceforth be celebrated on the same day – “Celebrate *it* as it is written and inscribed regarding it” in “the book of the first law,” that is, in the Pentateuch’s presentation of it as a single festival. Thus, while its dual nature will still be preserved – “This festival is twofold and of two kinds” – it will, henceforth, be a single holy day, the third-month festival.

So it was that the Interpolator succeeded in eliminating the counting of weeks from the festival of *Šabu’ot* and, in the process, transformed it into a celebration of Noah’s covenant with God. This was not an altogether unique transformation; after all, on the basis of the third-month dating, rabbinic Judaism later did something similar, turning *Šabu’ot* into “the day of the giving of our Torah.” But the

(44) “At each of its times” makes little sense. This somewhat confusing sentence in Ethiopic probably represents a Hebrew text like: לעשותם כל אחד מהם במועדו ביום אחד בשנה, that is, “that you should celebrate them – both of them – in its time, one day a year.” *In its time* presumably refers to the time of First Fruits (“Oaths” has no fixed date), already established to be on the fifteenth of the third month (*Jub.* 15:1-2).

Interpolator made one small but telling error. Although he claimed that the combination of the two festivals took place with Moses on Mount Sinai, he failed to notice that, long before Moses, the two supposedly still-separate festivals had been mentioned in one breath in the story of Abraham. Just before Abraham's death, according to the original author, Isaac and Ishmael "came from the Well of the Oath [Beersheba] to their father Abraham to celebrate the Festival of Weeks – *this is the Festival of the First Fruits of the harvest*" (*Jub.* 22:1). The original author mentioned both names together because he knew nothing about "Weeks [i.e. "Oaths"]" and "First Fruits" being two different festivals that were combined on Mount Sinai! Indeed, as this sentence makes clear, for him – as for the Pentateuch – "Weeks" and "First Fruits" are simply two names for the same *agricultural* festival, one that has nothing to do with the prohibition of consuming blood.

The Covenant of Circumcision

The account of God's covenant with Abraham (*Jubilees* 15) offers another study in how the Interpolator worked around the original author's text. According to the original author, this covenant took place in "the third month, in the middle of the month," that is, the *significant day* of the fifteenth. (No date is given in *Genesis*). The text then basically follows *Gen* 17:1-8: God instructs Abram to "please Me (45) and be perfect." He then changes his name to Abraham and promises that he will be the "father of many nations," and He grants the land of Canaan to Abraham and his descendants.

When it comes to the matter of circumcision, here too *Jubilees'* author is content to restate the biblical commandment (*Gen* 17:11-14):

You will circumcise a child on the eighth day – every male in your families: the person [who has been born in your] house, the one whom you purchased with money from any foreigners – whom you have acquired who is not from your descendants. The person who is born in your house must be circumcised; and those whom you purchased with money are to be circumcised. My covenant will be in your flesh as an eternal pact. The male who has not been circumcised – the flesh of whose foreskin has not been circumcised in the eighth day – that person will be uprooted from his people because he has violated My covenant. (*Jub.* 15:12-14)

The original author apparently saw no need to modify anything in the Bible's instructions. He then moved on to the remaining topics in the biblical chapter: the change of Sarai's name to Sarah; the pre-

(45) This reflects the Septuagint rendering, *euarestei enantion mou*.

diction of a son to be born to her, and finally, Abraham's carrying out of the commandment that he himself, Ishmael, and all the other males of his household be circumcised (*Jub.* 15:15-24).

The Interpolator, however, wished to clarify a number of matters connected to circumcision; apparently, these were important matters for him. First, the fact that Ishmael was circumcised would seem, on the face of things, to imply that his descendants were also included in the covenant of Abraham. (46) The Interpolator was therefore careful to specify that this was not the case: "For the Lord did not draw near to Himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them [simply] because they were among Abraham's children, for He knew them. But He chose Israel to be His people" (*Jub.* 15:30). Perhaps for the same reason, he stressed that circumcision must take place exactly on the eighth day – and not as practiced by other nations. (47) In fact, to stress the importance of eighth-day circumcision, the Interpolator employed a somewhat crude pun at the very beginning of his interpolation:

On the same day Abraham was circumcised; [those who were born in his house], the men of his household, and all those who had been purchased with money (even from foreigners) were circumcised with him. *This law is [valid] for all history forever. There is no circumcising of days, nor omitting any day of the eight days, because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the Heavenly Tablets.* (*Jub.* 15:24-25)

"Circumcising of days" means that, when it comes to this eight-day period: Don't cut it short – eight days means eight days exactly. (48)

In addition to these, however, the Interpolator had another concern, which he voiced further on in the same interpolation:

I am now telling you that the Israelites will prove false to this ordinance. They will not circumcise their sons in accord with this entire law because they will leave some of the flesh of their circumcision when they circumcise their sons. All the people of Belial will leave their sons uncircumcised just as they were born. Then there will be great anger from the Lord against the Israelites because they neglected His covenant, departed from His word, provoked and blasphemed in that they did not perform the ordinance of this sign. For they have made themselves like the nations so as to be removed and uprooted from the earth. They will no longer have forgiveness or pardon so that they should be

(46) Pointed out by Segal, 229.

(47) Segal may be right in presenting this as an anti-Pharisaic polemic on the basis of *m. Shabbat* 19:5, but I am not sure. If it was fellow Israelites that the Interpolator had in mind, why did he not mention such wrong-day circumcision in the paragraph that *does* indict fellow Israelites, *Jub.* 15:33-34?

(48) Segal's attempt to understand this verse as meaning that the *statute* is of eternal validity (pp. 232-37), while rather ingenious, seems in the final analysis unconvincing.

pardoned and forgiven for every sin, for [their] violations of this eternal [ordinance].

On the first of the fourth month, we appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre. (*Jub.* 15:33-16:1)

This, clearly, is a description of life in the Interpolator's own time, a time when Hellenizing Jews "concealed the circumcision of their private parts in order to be Greeks even when unclothed," (49) or else neglected circumcision entirely.

I have not reprinted the full text of the Interpolator's insertion here because it is rather long: it runs from *Jub.* 15:25 through 15:34. Even a cursory glance at the whole will reveal, however, that most of it is in the wrong place. After all, the laws of circumcision were proclaimed to Abraham in *Jub.* 15:11-14. Logically, any further specifications about this law – the importance of carrying it out on the eighth day exactly, along with the prohibition of partial circumcision – should have appeared alongside that initial proclamation. However, as we have already seen, the Interpolator not only does not rewrite the original author's words, he also prefers not to weave his own observations in and out of the original author's text. Instead, he seeks wherever possible to insert his remarks in a single block. Here, the problem was that he wanted to include in this same proclamation about what is "ordained and written on the Heavenly Tablets" his clarification that Ishmael and other descendants of Abraham are not included in Abraham's covenant. But Ishmael's circumcision had not yet been narrated. He therefore had no choice but to wait until after the original author had proclaimed the law of circumcision (15:11-14) and then narrated Sarah's name change (15:15), the prediction of Isaac's birth (15:16-19), and the account of Abraham's circumcision of the males in his household – including Ishmael (15:23-24). Only then could the Interpolator begin this long insertion, which, however, concerned not only Ishmael, but the importance of the eighth day and the prohibition of partial circumcision – both of which belonged eleven verses earlier.

The Story of Dinah

Much attention has already been given to the story of Dinah, which is recounted in *Jubilees* 30; it is thus well known that, in contrast to the biblical account (*Genesis* 34), *Jubilees* sees in this incident an occasion to preach against intermarriage. But one thing in particular troubled the Interpolator about the original author's ac-

(49) Josephus, *JA* 12:241. This was apparently a fairly stereotypical charge, cf. *1 Macc.* 1:11, *Testament of Moses* 8:3, and Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 108-109; J. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 200; U. Rappaport, *1 Maccabees* (Heb.), (Jerusalem: Keter, 2004), 100.

count: it saw in the biblical story of Dinah an interdiction of inter-marriage that worked in only one direction:

[The slaughter of the Shechemites was ordered] so that there should not again be something like this within Israel – defiling an Israelite virgin. If there is a man in Israel who wishes to give *his daughter or his sister* to any foreigner, he is to die. He is to be stoned because he has done something sinful and shameful within Israel. The woman is to be burned because she has defiled the reputation of her father's house; she is to be uprooted from Israel. (*Jub.* 30:6-7)

This was fine with the Interpolator as far as it went. But what about the opposite case, namely, a man who wishes to take a foreign woman as his bride? It was principally for that reason that the Interpolator inserted the long passage stretching from *Jub.* 30:8-17 – although, as often, his interpolation was designed to make several points, one after the other.

He began by picking up on the word “defiled” in the original author's last sentence. The real lesson of the Dinah story, he sought to claim, is that *all* forms of defilement (*tume'ah* in its broadest sense) are horrible:

The woman is to be burned because she has defiled the reputation of her father's house; she is to be uprooted from Israel.

No adulterer or impure person is to be found within Israel through all the time of the earth's history, for Israel is holy to the Lord. Any man who has caused defilement (50) is to die; he is to be stoned. For this is the way it has been ordained and written on the Heavenly Tablets regarding any descendant of Israel who causes defilement: “He is to die; he is to be stoned.” This law has no temporal limit.

There is no remission or any forgiveness; but rather, the man who has defiled his daughter within all of Israel is to be eradicated, because he has given of his seed to Molech and has sinned by defiling them. Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and warn them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they are not to marry any foreign women, because it is despicable before the Lord..It is a disgraceful thing for the Israelites who give or take [in marriage] one of the foreign women, because it is too impure and despicable for Israel.

Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one of the foreign women or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man. For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. Every punishment, blow, and curse will come. If one does this or shuts his eyes to

(50) This seems to be the proper sense. VanderKam translated “defiled (it),” supplying the pronoun missing in Ethiopic from the Latin text, which has *qui polluerit eum*. But it is more likely that the transitive verb *polluerit* in Latin seemed to demand an object, even if the original text did not have one; moreover, “*eum*” has no clear referent in the preceding words.

those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane His holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned together because of all this impurity and contamination... So is any man or woman in Israel to be who defiles his sanctuary. (30:7-16)

This passage will be seen to consist of three parts. The first paragraph, apparently reacting to the author's last sentence ("The woman is to be burned because she has *defiled* the reputation of her father's house"), seeks to expand on defilement as a general principle: any causing of defilement is punishable by death, he says. (51) This includes adultery (certainly not part of the Dinah narrative), or, apparently, *any* form of defilement: any "descendant of Israel who causes defilement... is to die; he is to be stoned." The same broad view of defilement is found in the third paragraph above, which mentions "those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and...who profane His holy name" – forms of defilement altogether unrelated to the Dinah incident.

Between these two comes the second paragraph, which doubles back to the issue raised by *Jubilees'* author, namely, "the man who has defiled his daughter" by giving her in marriage to a non-Israelite. The reason the Interpolator wishes to return to this specific form of defilement is that he is seeking, as he often does, to connect the incident under discussion with a law promulgated later on in the Pentateuch – in this case, *Lev* 18:21 "You shall not give any of your offspring [literally, "your seed"] to pass over to Molech." Molech was apparently a Canaanite deity associated with child sacrifice (see further *Lev* 20:2-5; *2 Kings* 23:10, *Jer* 32:35), and to "pass over" probably meant to "pass through fire," as in *Deut* 18:10. But in later times, this verse had acquired a new meaning: "And do not give of your seed for sexual relations with a daughter of the nations to pass over to idolatry" (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to *Lev* 18:21; cf. Targum Neophyti margin ad loc.). It is difficult to know how early such an interpretation came to be promulgated, but it is noteworthy that such an understanding of the verse was apparently well known (and condemned) in the time of the Mishnah, *Megillah* 4:9. (52)

(51) The word "defile" here is a translation of the Hebrew root טמא in the D-form (*pi'el*). This word is rendered variously in the Latin version of *Jubilees*: "defiled his father's house" uses *contaminare*, whereas the subsequent uses of "defile" in this passage use *polluere*. The Ethiopic, however, consistently uses 'ark'asa. Note that, while the word טמא had been used in the biblical narrative of Dinah to describe the rape (*Gen* 34:13, 27), the same verb is regularly used to describe the ritual impurity. So, of course, the Heavenly Tablets' broad interdiction of "causing defilement" is not to be found in the Torah; technically, a person who has contracted impurity by touching a corpse can "cause defilement" simply by inadvertently touching someone else – surely he was not to be stoned! But the Interpolator wished to assimilate to the Torah's purity laws the matter of "moral defilement," on which see J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford, 2000).

(52) See G. Vermes, "Leviticus 18:21 and Ancient Bible Exegesis," in

Lev 18:21 was understood by these interpreters to apply to intermarriage in one direction – a male who “gives of his seed” for sexual relations with a “daughter of the nations.” (53) But this was the opposite of what happened in the case of Dinah. No doubt the Interpolator was aware of this incongruence, which is why – without any textual justification – he went on to assert that *Lev* 18:21 actually applies in both directions, that is, to Israelites “who give [their own daughters to Gentiles] or take [in marriage] one of the foreign women...” Similarly, he says that “Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one of the foreign women [in its midst] or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man.” This bi-directional definition of intermarriage of course conflicts with that of *Jubilees*’ author who, in *his* legal summary, had stuck close to the facts of the Dinah story; for him, the only inference to be drawn from the narrative concerned “a man in Israel who wishes to give his daughter or his sister to any foreigner” (which was what Shechem and Hamor were asking Jacob and his sons to do).

Having thus redefined the lesson of Dinah, the Interpolator returns, in the third paragraph above, to the general theme of “defilement,” suggesting that not only the defiler, but *all* of Israel will be punished collectively (with “blow upon blow and curse upon curse”) for allowing such a crime in its midst, adding to his list of transgressors someone who merely “shuts his eyes to those who do impure things.” As already noted, those “impure things” include – strange to tell – defiling the Lord’s sanctuary and profaning God’s holy name, forms of “defilement” altogether unrelated to the Dinah story. (54)

E. Fleischer and J. J. Petuchowski, ed. *Studies in Aggadah, Targum, and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981), 108-24; Y. Maori, *The Peshitta Version of the Pentateuch and Early Jewish Exegesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995), 168-69; Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 425-27.

(53) That is to say, ““And do not give of your seed” was taken as a reference to male semen; indeed, one version of this exegetical tradition takes “to pass over” in the sense of “to make pregnant.” See *ibid*, *loc. cit*.

(54) However awkward, could not the legal pronouncements in this chapter all be the work of a single author? This seems most unlikely. For why should such a writer have contradicted himself, first stating a narrow, one-way definition of intermarriage, only to make it a two-way definition later on? He could have just as easily said from the beginning that *any* form of intermarriage is condemned in the Heavenly Tablets (as he says later), and that the Dinah story was just one example. He then could have backed up this assertion with *Lev* 18:21 (by his interpretation) and from there gone on to his still more general condemnation of other forms of impurity. But this chapter was not written by one writer, but two, and the Interpolator’s problem was that he was stuck between the original author’s too-clear definition of the crime envisaged by the Dinah narrative – “a man in Israel who wishes to give his daughter or his sister to any foreigner” – and his own desire to condemn defilement in the broadest terms, making it clear in the process that *Jubilees*’ condemnation of intermarriage applies in either direction through the evocation of *Lev* 18:21.

The Passover Precedent

It was mentioned above that the original author had his own precedent for the festival of Passover, one that had nothing to do with the binding of Isaac. For this author, quite logically, that precedent came with the Israelites' observance of the very first Passover meal in Egypt. Following the lengthy account of the laws of the Passover festival in *Exod* 12:1-27, the biblical narrative notes: "And the Israelites went and did so: just as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, so they did." In keeping with this, *Jubilees'* author had the angel of the Presence instruct Moses: "Remember the commandments which the Lord gave you regarding the Passover [in *Exod* 12:1-27], so that you may celebrate it at its time [the phrase used in *Num* 9:2-3, 28:2, etc.], on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may sacrifice it before the evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset" (*Jub.* 49:1). As will be seen, this was immediately followed by his further instructions about the paschal meal, starting in *Jub.* 49:18; but between these verses, the Interpolator inserted his own understanding of the laws of Passover.

The first part of this insertion deals with the events of the night of the last plague. The Interpolator noticed that the original author had skipped that topic, merely speaking in general about the ten plagues as a unit (48:5-12). The Interpolator therefore related how the Israelites joyfully ate in their homes while the Egyptian firstborn were being killed (by Mastema's legions, as we have seen), and how God passed over the Israelite houses and left them celebrating (49:2-6). He then turned to the laws of Passover, a festival that is to be celebrated "from year to year throughout all your lifetime, once a year, on its day in accord with all of its law" (49:7). His particular concern here and in the following verses was to prevent the celebration of this festival on some *other* day. Presumably, but not explicitly, he may have been aiming his remarks at those who espouse a different calendar from his own; if you observe it "in accord with all of its law," he says, "then you will not change a day from the day, or from month to month. For it is an eternal statute and it is engraved on the Heavenly Tablets regarding the Israelites that they are to celebrate it each and every year on its day, once a year, throughout their entire history. There is no temporal limit because it is ordained forever" (49:7-8).

He next moved to the related matter of the Second Passover (*Num* 9:9-12). While the option of celebrating the Second Passover exists, it is only for those who were "defiled by a corpse or on a long journey" at the time of the regular festival. Anyone who is not in this category and still does not observe the festival on its prescribed day "is to be uprooted" (49:9; cf. *Num* 9:13). The Interpolator then came to the rules of the Passover sacrifice:

The Israelites are to come and celebrate the passover on its specific day – on the fourteenth of the first month – between the evenings, from the third part of the day until the third part of the night. For two parts of the day have been given for light and its third part for the evening. This is what the Lord commanded you – to celebrate it between the evenings. It is not to be sacrificed at any hour of the daylight but in the hour of the boundary of the evening. They will eat it in the evening hour[s] until the third part of the night.

Any of its meat that is left over from the third part of the night and beyond is to be burned. They are not to boil it in water or eat it raw, but roasted on a fire, cooked with care on a fire – the head with its internal parts and its feet. They are to roast it on a fire. There will be no breaking of any bone in it because no bone of the Israelites will be broken. Therefore the Lord ordered the Israelites to celebrate the passover on its specific day. No bone of it is to be broken because it is a festal day and a day which has been commanded. From it there is to be no passing over a day from the day or month from the month, because it is to be celebrated on its festal day.

Now you [Moses], order the Israelites to celebrate the passover each year throughout their days, (55) once a year on its specific day. Then a pleasing memorial will come before the Lord and no plague will come upon them to kill and to strike [them] during that year when they have celebrated the passover at its time in every respect as it was commanded. It is thus (56) not to be eaten outside of the Lord's sanctuary but before the Lord's sanctuary. All the people of the Israelite congregation are to celebrate it at its time. Every man who is 20 years of age and above is to eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord, because this is the way it has been written and ordained – that they are to eat it in the Lord's sanctuary. (Jub. 49:10-17)

There are many interesting points here, but let us begin by looking at the verses that immediately follow these – which constituted the original author's follow-up to *Jub. 49:2*:

When the Israelites enter the land which they will possess – the land of Canaan – and set up the Lord's tabernacle in the middle of the land in one of their tribal groups (until the time when the Lord's temple will be built in the land), they are to come and celebrate the Passover in the Lord's tabernacle and sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year. At the time when the house is built in the Lord's name in the land which they will possess, they are to go there and sacrifice the passover in the evening when the sun sets, in the third part of the day. They will offer its blood on the base of the altar. They are to place the fat on the fire

(55) So Charles; VanderKam, "during their times" is quite accurate but potentially confusing – it does not refer to the time of the festival, but the lifetime of the Israelites.

(56) See VanderKam, p. 321n. He translates "it is *no longer* to be eaten outside of the Lord's sanctuary," but this seems to make little sense, since that sanctuary (the tabernacle, and later the temple) has not yet been built.

which is above the altar and are to eat its meat roasted on a fire in the courtyard of the sanctuary in the name of the Lord. They will not be able to celebrate the passover in their cities or in any places except before the Lord's tabernacle or otherwise before the house in which His name has resided. Then they will not go astray before the Lord.

This passage follows naturally from *Jub.* 49:1. Having told Moses about how the paschal sacrifice is to be slaughtered ("you may sacrifice it before the evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset"), the angel of the Presence then goes on to specify when and where this sacrifice is to take place once the people of Israel have entered their homeland. Here the original author's passage will be seen to cover the same ground as the Interpolator's passage cited above: the animal is to be slaughtered in the last third of the day, it is then to be roasted in fire, and the meal is to be eaten "in the courtyard of the sanctuary." But this repetition only strengthens the notion that two authors are at work here. If only one were responsible for all of chapter 49, why he should explain the same three things in two different places?

Beyond this, however, it should be noted that the Interpolator's formulation of the "when" part has a somewhat sharper, more polemical tone than the original author's, as if the Interpolator were out to do battle with some other position – and this may tell us something more about the Interpolator himself. The animal is to be slaughtered, he says, "between the evenings, from the third part of the day until the third part of the night. For, two parts of the day have been given for light and its third part for the evening. *This is what the Lord commanded you – to celebrate it between the evenings.* It is not to be sacrificed at any hour of the daylight but in the hour of the boundary of the evening." This emphatic tone may be no accident, since the Interpolator's position contrasts sharply with rabbinic (and presumably, Pharisaic) halakhah: despite the Scriptural dictum that the animal is to be slaughtered "between the evenings" (*Exod* 12:6, *Num* 9:3, 5), the Mishnah specifies that the animal may be sacrificed any time after midday (*m. Pesahim* 5:3). Interestingly, an opinion similar to the Interpolator's is attributed to "ben Bathyra" in the *Mekhilta deR. Ishmael*: "Make [one] evening for its slaughter and make [one] evening for its eating." (57) As for the place of the eating, this too is in conflict with rabbinic halakhah: the Mishnah (*Makkot* 3:3), permits the Passover sacrifice to be eaten anywhere within the city of Jerusalem (cf. *m. Pesahim* 7:9, 12).

(57) *Pisha* 5 (last sentence; Horowitz-Rabin ed. p. 18). Presumably this wording is a reflection of the biblical expression "between the evenings": make the first of those evenings (that is, before sunset) the time for its slaughter, and the second (after sunset) the time for its consumption.

Finally, it will be noticed that the Interpolator's passage refers to the famous contradiction between *Exod* 12:8 and *Deut* 16:7. The *Exodus* verse states that the Passover sacrifice cannot be boiled (מבשל במים), but the *Deuteronomy* passage apparently says that it can. These conflicting instructions were blended in *2 Chron* 35:13, which asserted that the sacrifice was to be "boiled in fire," that is, roasted. The Interpolator's legal instructions apparently evokes this compromise wording: "They are not to boil it in water or eat it raw, but roasted on a fire, *cooked* [מבושל] *with care* (58) *on a fire*." (59) This subject, like the time and place of the sacrifice, is also revisited in the original author's passage, but he does not evoke this delicate compromise, saying simply that the Israelites "are to eat its meat roasted on a fire."

Given the fact that the Interpolator basically agreed with the original author on the laws of Passover, why did he even bother inserting the long passage of vv. 1-17? In part, as seen above, it was to cover items omitted by the original author – the first Passover in Egypt (vv. 1-6), the calendrical exhortation (vv. 7-8), and the warning about the "Second Passover" (v. 9). But if he went on to cover once more the proper time and place of the slaughter and eating of the Passover sacrifice, it was probably because, as seen above, these issues were hotly disputed in his day; his emphatic formulations were designed specifically to deny the interpretations of the founders of rabbinic Judaism.

Lastly, it is to be noted that both the original author's and the Interpolator's legal sections had focused on the Passover sacrifice and its consumption; they had said nothing about the laws of unleavened bread, which also apply to this festival. For the Interpolator, this omission was a grievous thing, and so – just as he had done with the law of impurity after childbirth and the missing practices in the Festival of Booths laws – here as well he "completed" the original author's legal section with his own account of the rules of unleavened bread (49:22-23).

The Torah and the Te'udah

One more item must be mentioned in this treatment, and that is the curious phrase used by both the original author and the Interpol-

(58) "With care" apparently was a misunderstanding of Gk *meta spoudēs* (see VanderKam, 319n.); this is the phrase used in Septuagint *Exod* 12:11 to translate בְּהַפְזִיז, "in haste." However, a common meaning of *spoudē* is "eagerness, earnestness, diligence" – hence the confusion.

(59) The second "on a fire" is definitely part of the textual tradition (VanderKam, 319, contrast Wintermute, 141), though its placement in the Latin is somewhat different, "but you shall eat it roasted diligently in a fire; you shall roast its head with the intestines and with its feet in a fire" (Roensch, 92)

tor, namely, “the *torah* and the *te‘udah*.” This topic has been investigated by various scholars, including the present writer, (60) but no one thus far seems to have noticed a crucial difference in the way the phrase is used by the original author and the way it is used by the Interpolator.

It has already been pointed out that this phrase derives from *Isaiah* 8:16 and 8:20, where the two words are paired: “Bind up the testimony (תעודה), seal the teaching (תורה) with My disciples...for [or “according to”] the teaching and the testimony (לתורה ולתעודה)...” etc. For the original author, these references in *Isaiah* must have seemed a goldmine: *Isaiah* appeared to be referring to some unknown work which, along with the Torah (in the time of *Jubilees*, this meant the Pentateuch) he had been ordered to “bind up” and hide away and which, unlike the Pentateuch, had not reappeared since. No one could know exactly what such a work might have contained, but that did not matter: since the original author wished to write a pseudepigraphic book allegedly dictated to Moses by the angel of the Presence, what better argument for its authenticity than to have the book identify itself as the long-lost *te‘udah* hidden away in the time of *Isaiah*? And so, that is precisely what the author did, opening his work with the declaration that “This is the account of the divisions of times – according to the תורה and the תעודה – of the events of the years, of the weeks [of years, and] of their *Jubilees* throughout all the days of yore, (61) as it was related to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tablets...” (62)

It is actually not clear whether the original author intended readers to think that *Isaiah*’s reference to the תורה and תעודה concerned one book (called *The Torah and the Te‘udah*) or two, the Pentateuch (תורה) and the otherwise unknown book of the תעודה. I believe the latter to be the case, as I think will emerge from the citations below. But whichever the case, what is clear is that, in citing this work or

(60) J. Kugel, “Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period,” in T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 166-77; Kister, “Two Formulae in the Book of *Jubilees*,” *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 289-300; C. Werman, “The Torah and the Engraved on the Tablets,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 75-103; Segal, 282-316.

(61) VanderKam: “eternity,” but surely this is the word עולם in the sense of time past, cf. *Deut* 32:7, “Remember days of yore, consider the years of ages past.”

(62) The first start of the title is unfortunately missing in 4Q216, which starts at the word “Sinai.” I have therefore basically followed VanderKam’s translation of the Ethiopic, with a few minor changes to make the sense clear. VanderKam translates: “These are the words regarding the divisions of the times of the law and of the testimony of the events of the years, of the weeks of their *Jubilees* throughout all the years of eternity as he related (them) to Moses on Mount Sinai...” As VanderKam notes, however, the apparent reference to this book’s title in *CD* 16:3-4 is somewhat different: ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם בשבועותיהם.

works, the original author was citing the *name* of a book or books. That is obvious in the title sentence (cited above), as well as in subsequent references by the original author:

[Moses remained on the mountain for forty days and forty nights and the Lord informed him of the earlier and the later things and of what was yet to come. He told him the di]visions of the times according to the [ה]תור[ה] [and to the תעודה. He said to him: “Set your mind on all the wo]rds which I tell you [on this mountain and write them in a book so that] their descendants may [kn]ow that I have not abandoned them...” (1:4-5 as per Ethiopic and 4Q216 col. 1:9-13)

In other words, God told Moses about the “divisions of the times” as set forth in two books, the Pentateuch and the תעודה. Similarly,

[Moses is told:] [Now you write all these words which I will tell you on this mountain: the earlier and the] later things [and that which is to come during all the divisions of time according to the תור[ה] and to the תעו[דה], [and to the weeks of *Jubilees* until eternity]. (1:26 as per Ethiopic and 4Q216 col. 4:3-5)

The angel of the Presence, who was going along in front of the Israelite camp, took the tablets [which told] of the divisions of the years from the time the תורה and the תעודה were created – for the weeks of their *Jubilees*, year by year in their full number...(1:29) (63)

Even when the original author uses תעודה alone (either as a shorthand for the book called *The Torah and the Te'udah* or, as I prefer, as a reference to *The Book of the Te'udah* [as distinct from the Torah]), it is clear that the word תעודה refers to a *book*.

When they [the Israelites] eat and are full, they will turn to foreign gods – to ones which will not save them from any of their afflictions. Then this תעודה will serve as evidence [against them]. For they will forget all my commandments, everything that I command them, and will follow the nations, their impurities and their shame. (*Jub.* 1:7-9) (64)

(63) Again, this part of *Jubilees* is missing from 4Q216 Qumran. However, the very fragmentary papyrus 4Q217 (fragment 2) sheds some light on the wording of *Jub.* 1:29, which many scholars have suspected to be corrupt in the Ethiopic translation cited above. In the light of it, the original text more likely read: “...the tablets [which told] of the divisions of the years – according to the תורה and to the תעודה – from the time of the creation, [divided into] the weeks of their *Jubilees*, until the time of the new creation...” See on this Segal, 285-87 and sources cited there.

(64) This is VanderKam's translation, which exactly reflects the Ethiopic text. For the second sentence, the surviving Hebrew fragment of 4Q216 col. 2:4-5 reads: ה[תעודה הזאת] ועתה ה[]. This is puzzling, since the letter ה before the brackets ought logically to be a ל, yielding לעד לפניהם התעודה הזאת, which would perfectly parallel its apparent Scriptural model, *Deut* 31:21. Given the fragmentary state of the Qumran text and the apparent parallel to *Deut* 31:21, I prefer to follow the Ethiopic

By contrast, the Interpolator *never* uses the phrase “the תורה and the תעודה” or the word תעודה alone to refer to a book. For him, either of these always refers to *an individual law or other item written in the Heavenly Tablets*. For example:

The Creator of all, who created this [sabbath] day, blessed it for [the purposes of] blessing, holiness, and glory, more than all [other] days. This תורה and תעודה were given to the Israelites *as an eternal law* throughout their history. (*Jub.* 2:32-33).

For this reason *the law of these days* has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or to a female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed. These are the תורה and of the תעודה that were written for Israel to keep for all times. (3:14)

This תעודה has been written regarding you to keep it for all times, so that you may not at any time eat any blood of animals or birds throughout all the days of the earth. (6:12)

They [the memorial days] are written down and ordained at the four divisions of the year as an eternal תעודה. (6:23)

We blessed him [Abraham] eternally and all the descendants who would follow him throughout all the history of the earth, because he had celebrated this festival at its time in accord with the תעודה of the Heavenly Tablets. (16:28)

The same meaning is found in every appearance of “the תורה and of the תעודה” or “the תעודה” in passages attributable to the Interpolator (see further *Jub.* 6:33, 6:37, 23:32, 30:17, 30:19, 31:32, 49:25). Without exception, these references in the Interpolator’s passages are to an individual law or other item written on high and not to the name of the book.

This understanding of תעודה may have been influenced by the only other use of the word in the Hebrew Bible apart from *Isa* 8:16 and 8:20:

Now this was formerly done in Israel in cases of redemption or exchange: to validate any transaction, one man would take off his sandal and hand it to the other. Such was the תעודה in Israel. (*Ruth* 4:7) (65)

It is easy to see how this verse could lead the Interpolator to conclude that תעודה in biblical Hebrew means “law” or “practice.” (66)

version; whichever way the text is restored, the basic point I am making remains unchanged.

(65) First pointed out by Kister, “Two Formulae.”

(66) This is quite different from the original author’s understanding of the word, which he associated with the verb “warn,” as is obvious in 1:8 cited above.

Incidentally, this may shed some light on a somewhat puzzling passage at the conclusion of the original author's discourse on how Israel and the sabbath were intentionally both described as "blessed and holy" (67) (*Jub.* 2:17-24). To the original author's last sentence the Interpolator adds his own coda:

It was granted to these [Jacob's descendants] that they should be the blessed and holy for all times. *And this is the first תעודה and תורה.* (68) (*Jub.* 2:24).

The Hebrew text reads: *וְזֹאת הַתְּעוּדָה וְהַתּוֹרָה הָרִאשׁוֹנָה*. The placement of the word "first" (*הָרִאשׁוֹנָה*) here has been a problem for translators, but in the light of the Interpolator's usage (as opposed to that of the original author), the sense becomes clear: "first" is being used to describe both nouns, "This is the first תעודה-and-תורה," this hyphenated phrase meaning "the first individual ruling written in the Heavenly Tablets." (69)

Thus, as with some of the longer examples examined above, it seems clear here too that the Interpolator has misunderstood, or for some other reason departed from, the meaning intended by the original author in the phrase "the תורה and the תעודה." For the original author, the תעודה was the title of his book and its certificate of authenticity. For the Interpolator – perhaps influenced by *Ruth* 4:7 – תעודה acquired the meaning of an individual law or other item on the Heavenly Tablets, and "the תורה and the תעודה" became a kind of hendiadys, "the law and statute." (70) The result is that we possess one more tool for distinguishing the Interpolator's insertions from the original text, and this in turn serves to solidify the identification of those relatively few passages authored by the Interpolator.

An Overview

I hope the foregoing examples will suffice to give readers a sense of how the Interpolator worked, as well as to better characterize the nature of the original author's text. Other instances could be treated in the same detail, but instead, I will simply provide in summary form a list of all the Interpolator's insertions:

(67) Israel is so described in *Deut* 7:6 and 14, the sabbath in *Gen* 2:3.

(68) For the text, see *4Q216* col. 7, 16-17.

(69) Kister, "Two Formulae," similarly understands this phrase as "the first halakhah that was given to the world" (p. 295). Segal rightly observes that the use of the single demonstrative indicates "that the author understood the pair תורה ותעודה as a hendiadys" (288).

(70) Note that in two verses, *Jub.* 6:32 and 37, the Interpolator actually uses תעודה in its Qumran meaning of "fixed time" or "assembly." As Elisha Qimron has observed, this תעודה is etymologically distinct: while the biblical word is connected to עוֹד in the sense of "testify," Qumran תעודה seems to derive from יָעַד, "appoint, gather." See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 115 and works cited there.

1. *Jub. 2:24-33, Laws of the Sabbath.* (treated above).
2. *Jub. 3:9-14, Impurity After childbirth* (treated above).
3. *Jub. 3:29-31, Nudity Forbidden* (treated above).
4. *Jub. 4:5-6, Cain's Curse Anticipates Deut 27:24:* Because *Jub. 4:4* (on the basis of *Gen 4:10*) says that God *cursed* Cain, the Interpolator cleverly connected this to *Deut 27:24*, "Cursed is one who strikes his fellow with malice." (71) Cain's being *cursed* by God for having *struck* his brother could thus be seen as a precedent in *Genesis* for this later divine pronouncement. Then, although this verse in *Deuteronomy* concludes, "And all the people shall say Amen," the Interpolator rephrases this as "All *who saw it* shall say 'so be it.'" This allows him to slide the Cain story into a precedent for another later law, *Lev 5:1*, which prohibits someone who "has heard a public adjuration [literally, a public "curse"]" – presumably, such as *Deut 27:24* – from refusing to testify in a case covered by that adjuration, since he is "one who has *seen or heard* or [otherwise] knows" about the case and therefore ought to testify.
5. *Jub. 4:31-32 Death of Cain and Lev 24:19-20:* The book of *Genesis* does not report how Cain died; the original author of *Jubilees* similarly skipped the subject. But the theme of Cain's death became popular with later interpreters, (72) and the Interpolator saw in this subject another opportunity to connect a *Genesis* narrative with a later law – *Lev 24:19-20*, which says: "If anyone maims his fellow, as he has done, so shall it be done to him: fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. As he has inflicted harm on a person, so shall it be inflicted on him." The Interpolator understood the two (somewhat repetitive) halves of this verse in two different senses: "as he has done" refers to the *kind of harm* inflicted (fracture, loss of an eye or a tooth, etc.), whereas "As he has inflicted harm..." refers to the *means* by which the harm was inflicted. Cain's invented death through the collapse of his house thus upholds both halves of the verse: Cain was *killed* as punishment for his killing Abel, and "because he killed Abel with a stone, by a just punishment, he was killed with a stone."
6. *Jub. 5:13-19, Strict Justice After the Flood and the Day of Atonement* (treated above).
7. *Jub. 6:10-14, Blood Not to Be Eaten, But Instead Used for Tamid Sacrifices (connection to Exod 29:38-42 and Num 28:3-8)* (treated above).
8. *Jub. 6:17-22, The Festival of Šabu'ot* (treated above).
9. *Jub. 6:23-38, The 364-Day Calendar.* A major concern of the Interpolator, who saw in *Gen 7:11* and 8:4 proof positive that God's calendar could not depend on lunar months, since five consecutive lunar months can never come out to 150 days. Instead, the months of the divine calendar had to be units of thirty days each, with no

(71) For "with malice" the Masoretic text has "in secret," but the Septuagint reads "by trickery" (*dolō*), which seems to imply "with malice" (rather than by accident).

(72) See my *In Potiphar's House*, 159-172.

relationship to the new moon or human sightings thereof. At the same time, however, the five consecutive months spoken of in the flood story left no room for the insertion of one of the extra four days his calendar needed in order to arrive at a total of 364 days. His solution: the four extra days were originally clustered as the last days of the year. It was only after the flood that Noah revised the calendar, so that henceforth, each of these four days would be inserted as an extramensual day at the end of each quarter. (73)

10. *Jub. 13:25-27: Law of the Tithe*. The preceding verses, absent from all manuscripts, probably included an account of the tithe given to Melchizedek (*Gen 14:20*) and ended with the assertion that the practice of tithing was to be the law "for Abram and his descendants, the tithe of the firstfruits for the Lord." But the Pentateuchal statements on tithing appear to conflict with one other: see *Lev 27:30-33* vs. *Num 18:21-32* vs. *Deut 24:22-29*. (74) Therefore the Interpolator added his own *halakhah*: tithes are to be given altogether to the "priests who serve before Him" (not to the Levites) and include a tenth "of everything...of seed, the vine, oil, cattle, and sheep."
11. *Jub. 14:20b: Abraham Kept Šebu'ot*. Into the author's account of Abram's "Covenant between the Pieces" (*Gen 15:7-20*), the Interpolator inserted this brief sentence, asserting that Abram "renewed" the festival of Oaths established by Noah (connected to 8 above).
12. *Jub. 15:25-34 Laws of Circumcision* (treated above).
13. *Jub. 16:3 Isaac's Name in Heavenly Tablets*. The Interpolator was disturbed at the notion that Isaac was so named because of an act reproved by the angels (Sarah's laughter); he therefore inserted here that Isaac was named in the Heavenly Tablets long before the incident.
14. *Jub. 16:9, Lot Condemned*. The original author had said that Lot was saved "because the Lord remembered Abraham" (that is, not for any merit of his own), but skipped the story of Lot and his daughters: they were not Israel's ancestors, hence, unimportant. The Interpolator felt the need to condemn them explicitly.
15. *Jub. 16:28-31, Supplement to Festival of Booths Laws* (treated above).
16. *Jub. 18:18-19, The Binding of Isaac and Passover* (treated above).
17. *Jub. 19:8-9, Abraham's Tenth Trial*. The original author was acquainted with the tradition of "Abraham the Tested," (75) but apparently these tests did not yet have a fixed number (see *Jub.*

(73) For further details, see Kugel and Ravid, "A Reexamination of the Calendar in the Book of *Jubilees*," appendix to L. Ravid, *Issues in the Book of Jubilees* (PhD. Dissertation, Bar Ilan University, 2001), 1*-27*. Note that *Jubilees'* author also believed in a sun-based calendar (see *Jub. 2:9*) and 30-day months, but he gives no indication of ever espousing a specifically 364-day year or the interspersing of the extra four days in such a year at equal intervals throughout the year; these are innovations of the Interpolator.

(74) Note also *Neh 10:37-38, 12:44*.

(75) See on this Kugel, *Traditions*, 296-326.

- 17:17-18, which lists only six). The Interpolator did know the "Ten Tests" tradition, and so added it here.
18. *Jub. 23:32 Moses' Prediction Recapitulates the Heavenly Tablets.* In keeping with the Interpolator's ideology, the predictions of this chapter must all appear on the Heavenly Tablets; he therefore inserted this one-sentence attribution.
 19. *Jub. 24:33. Isaac's Prediction Recapitulates the Heavenly Tablets.* For precisely the same reason as the preceding item, the Interpolator here attributes Isaac's prediction in his cursing of the Philistines to what is written on the Heavenly Tablets.
 20. *Jub. 28:6b-7. Wrong to Marry the Younger Daughter First.* The original author retold the biblical story of Jacob's wedding night, and Laban's words to Jacob, "It is not customary in our country to give the younger daughter before the older one" (*Jub. 28:6*), were followed immediately by *Jub. 28:8*, "Let the seven days of the banquet for this one go by" – exactly as in *Gen 29:26-27*. Into the middle of this speech of Laban's the Interpolator inserted his legal teaching: giving the younger daughter in marriage first is proscribed in the Heavenly Tablets.
 21. *Jub. 30:8-17, Dinah Story and Intermarriage in Both Directions* (treated above).
 22. *Jub. 30:18-23. God's Friends and Enemies.* The Interpolator explains the gift of the priesthood to Levi as a reward for his extermination of the Shechemites; this stands in contradiction to the original author's explanation(s), whereby Levi was granted the priesthood by Isaac in *Jub. 31:14*, or in a prophetic dream (*Jub. 32:1*), or by Jacob tithing his sons (*Jub. 32:3*). (76) From those who are "recorded on the Heavenly Tablets as a friend" (*Jub. 30:20*), the Interpolator moves to those who "transgress and behave in impure ways," who are to be "recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed" (*Jub. 30:22*).
 23. *Jub. 31:31-32, Isaac's Blessing Reinforced.* The original author's long blessing by Isaac of his two grandsons, Judah and Levi, had predicted great things of them. But, as in insertions 18 and 19 above, the Interpolator felt it necessary to assert that these predictions were in fact already written in the Heavenly Tablets.
 24. *Jub. 32:9c-15, Law of the Second Tithe.* The Interpolator saw in the mention of Jacob's payment of the first tithe an opportunity to discourse on the institution of a second tithe, neglected by (or unknown to) *Jubilees'* author. (77)

(76) On these see J. Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 115-168.

(77) His understanding of the second tithe is somewhat different from the rabbinic institution of that name. In apparent agreement with *Deut 14:22-29*, the Interpolator stipulates that this tithe is to be consumed (by the tithe's owner, though this is not specified) "in the place that has been chosen" (*Jub. 32:10*), that is, the Jerusalem temple. He further stipulates that the tithe is to be given and consumed during its season, "the seed until the time for harvesting the seed of [that] year...the wine until the time for wine," and so forth. "In this way they are to eat it at the same time in the sanctuary" (*Jub. 32:14*) alludes to *Deut 14:23*. On the other hand, "the entire tithe of

25. *Jub. 32:27-29, The Eighth Day of Assembly.* A law connected to the Festival of Booths (*Num* 29:35) but omitted by the original author. As in items 2 and 15 above, the Interpolator felt compelled to fill in the “missing” part of the biblical law.
26. *Jub. 33:10-20 Reuben and Bilhah.* Segal has aptly contrasted the original author’s narrative with this legal coda. (78) The former saw Bilhah’s non-participation as crucial in her not being punished and was silent about Reuben, while the latter saw as decisive the fact that the law and its punishment had not been fully proclaimed at the time. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the original author did draw his own legal conclusion from the narrative: “As for any man who uncovers the covering of his father – his act is indeed very bad and it is indeed despicable before the Lord” (33:9).
27. *Jub. 41:23-26 Judah and Tamar.* (79) The original author’s version of this story held that Judah’s two sons, Er and Onan, had never consummated their marriage with Tamar (*Jub. 41:2-5*). As a result, the descendants of Judah and Tamar’s union – this was the original author’s main concern with the story – did not suffer any ill consequences: “We [angels] told Judah that his two sons [Er and Onan] had not lain with her [Tamar]. *For this reason* his descendants were established for another generation and would not be uprooted” (41:27). It was quite simply unthinkable to the original author that Judah’s descendants – the Jews – could be the offspring of an illicit union. (80) The Interpolator, by contrast, was concerned with the matter of Judah and Tamar’s guilt or innocence (a subject on which the original author took no position). Ignoring the original author’s claim that the marriages had not been consummated, he states that Judah was not harmed because he had sincerely repented (*Jub. 41:24*). Here again are two sharply contrasting legal interpretations of the same story.
28. *Jub. 49:2-17, Laws of Passover* (treated above).
29. *Jub. 49:22-23, Laws of Unleavened Bread* (treated above).

Who Was the Interpolator?

What may be learned from this list about the identity of the Interpolator? The first is the matter of his very existence. The acid test, in

cattle and sheep...is to belong to His priests” (*Jub. 32:15*) seems closer to *Num* 18:21, though there it is the Levites, and here the priests, who receive the tithe. Note that Kister pointed out the discrepancy here, though his analysis was somewhat different: “Some Aspects,” 586-88.

(78) Segal, 73-82.

(79) Again, well analyzed by Segal, 59-72. I would only add that the original author was not interested in establishing the guilt or innocence of the pair, but in whitewashing their descendants, the Jews. Moreover, I feel Segal erred slightly in characterizing the “legal passage” as consisting of 41:23-26, while 41:27-28 is additional “narrative.” Actually, both passages are concerned with a legal issue.

(80) As for Judah’s demand in the biblical narrative that Tamar be burned (*Gen* 38:24), the author explains that he had acted quite properly, since this is what he had been taught by Abraham (in a passage written by the original author, *Jub. 20:1-10*).

trying to distinguish an interpolator from a redactor or rewriter, is this: If, after removing the supposed interpolations, the result is a smoothly running text with no apparent gaps or other infelicities, then one can be fairly sure that the removed items were indeed interpolations inserted into what was already a finished text. (81) I believe that an examination of each of the twenty-nine items listed above will reveal that, if the designated verses are excised, the resultant text does indeed read altogether smoothly and without any apparent gaps or infelicities. In fact, we have observed in some of the examples studied in detail above that the Interpolator's insertion is slightly out of place, or repetitive, or poorly connected to what precedes it, and the same is true of the some of the items treated schematically in the above list (particularly numbers 20, 23, 24, and 28); cut out the insertion and the resultant text will actually be seen to run *more* smoothly than before. At the same time, it should be observed that the above list is exhaustive: if all the designated passages are eliminated, the resultant text will contain no further references to the Heavenly Tablets, no "therefore it is written and ordained," no "And you, Moses, command the Israelites to do such-and-such," no law or practice that "has no temporal limits" but is to be kept by the Israelites "for eternal generations." In short, the above list represents the sum total of the Interpolator's contribution to the book of *Jubilees*; remove all the items and the overall shape and ideology of the original book can be clearly seen. (82)

Beyond this point, however, the above list offers some insight into what was on the Interpolator's mind and why he inserted what he inserted. As stated above, the basic message of the original author was that God's connection to Israel began long before the Sinai covenant and had not ceased with the violations of that covenant that led to the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 587 BCE. One of the most striking demonstration of this outlook (not discussed above) is *Jubilees* 23, in which Moses foretells Israel's future hardships, "blow upon blow, wound upon wound, distress upon distress" (*Jub.* 23:13), and so forth. Yet one looks in vain for one concrete, specific allusion to the cataclysmic Babylonian conquest in this prediction. This silence stands in stark contrast to other visions of the future written in this period, and in particular to the "Four Empires" theme embodied in the book of *Daniel* and other texts. (83) On the contrary, history

(81) I thank Professor Menahem Kister for this point.

(82) This is not to say that there are not one or two remaining inconsistencies. Kister has highlighted the contradictions between the laws of fourth-year fruits in *Jub.* 7:1-6 and *Jub.* 7:35-36, and this remains a puzzle: see Kister, "Some Aspects." The inconsistency with regard to the length of a jubilee pointed out by Dimant, 3 "The Biography," may indeed reflect *Jubilees'* author's reliance on an ancient tradition, or simply his own approximate dating.

(83) On the possible origin of this motif: D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl" in his *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 317-44.

here is presented as one long series of ups and downs – downs that, as far as this author was concerned, were continuing on into his own day. (84) In short, the catastrophe of 587-86 BCE had no decisive effect: Israel had always been God's people and, despite their sinfulness, it has remained such throughout their history. The author's hope was that eventually Israel would abandon its sinful ways – fornication and impurity – and would be rewarded with blessings beyond measure.

The Interpolator doubtless found much to admire in this book – after all, he chose it as the vehicle for the expression of his own concerns. Nevertheless, he had a quite distinct outlook. He was, to begin with, an *absolute determinist*. Indeed, the very concept of “Heavenly Tablets” eloquently expresses this determinism: the whole future of Israel and the world had long before been decided and recorded on high. From this standpoint, *nearly all* of his twenty-nine insertions represent his attempt to impose his determinist outlook on the book of *Jubilees*. Some of these insertions seek to claim that things presented in *Jubilees* as spontaneous occurrences – the choice of Isaac's name (13), or Moses' prediction of the future (18), or Isaac's (19, 23) – had actually been written down previously, in the Heavenly Tablets. In the same spirit, the date of the *Šabu'ot* festival could never really be established by humans counting seven weeks – it was celebrated in heaven long before its earthly debut! Nor could the beginning of the new month be determined by human sightings of the new moon (*Jub.* 6:36-37), as was the later, rabbinic practice. (85) All these bespeak a single mentality. The Interpolator may likewise have mistaken, or perhaps deliberately distorted, the original author's intention in creating precedents in patriarchal times for holy days and other divinely ordained practices; for the Interpolator, in any case, they were not an expression of God's eternal connection with Israel, but a demonstration that *all* the Sinaitic laws as well as their proper application had been written long before, in the Heavenly Tablets. For that reason, the Interpolator sought to expand the *Jubilees* narrative so as to include in it all sorts of other precedents for Pentateuchal laws – items 1, 2, 4-8, 10, 12, 15-16, 21-22, and 24-26 above.

The Interpolator's determinism may not have been the only factor that set him on this path. As numerous scholars since Charles have observed, some of the legal positions adopted in *Jubilees* seem to be in polemical opposition to those of other groups. Among the issues on which the Interpolator took an apparently polemical stance, that of the calendar stands out (item 9 above). But there are other legal sections that seem to be potentially polemical, including his

(84) See on this Kugel, “The *Jubilees* Apocalypse,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 322-37.

(85) See m. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, chapters 1 and 2.

sabbath rules (item 1), his insistence on eighth day circumcision (item 12), (86) the second tithe (24), and the rules for the Passover sacrifice (28). Beyond these particulars, the very idea of the Heavenly Tablets, in which are *written* not only the Torah's laws but the various *halakhot* connected with them, may well have been intended as a counter-argument to the Pharisees (or their predecessors), who had to admit that their way of observing and applying biblical laws had no written source but was based solely on the orally transmitted "traditions of the elders" or the "teachings of the fathers." (87)

Lastly, it is perhaps worth observing that, while the Interpolator was surely no Pharisee, his insertions show a remarkable familiarity with issues and ideas known to us from rabbinic Judaism. These include the idea **A**) that the Day of Atonement requires people to "turn away" from their sins and "turn to Him in the right way," (5:17-18), (88) and along with it the great importance attributed by the Interpolator to repentance; (89) **B**) that, despite the Bible's failure to mention this fact, the festival of *Šabu'ot* commemorates the granting of a great covenant (6:17-22); **C**) that the festival of *Sukkot* involves great public expression of joy and (if the text has been restored correctly above) the taking up of a *lulab* cluster – the rabbinic term (16:29-31); (90) **D**) that Abraham underwent precisely ten tests (*Jub.* 19:8-9); (91) **E**) that the prohibition of "giving one's seed to Molech" in *Lev* 21:18 actually refers to intermarriage (30:10) (92); **F**) that there is a practice to "tithe the tithe," even if the Interpolator's understanding of it does not correspond to that of rabbinic Judaism (*Jub.* 32:10); (93) **G**) that angelic powers, whether for good or ill, are not truly independent actors but subservient to God (49:2); (94) **H**) that the place and time of the paschal sacrifice were the subject of contro-

(86) But see above, note 47.

(87) See on this Kugel, *Traditions*, 658-60, 698-71; H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), esp. 60-69; C. Werman, "The Torah and the *Teudah*," 16-18.

(88) This is of course not an exclusively rabbinic idea, but is attested in the second century by *Ben Sira*, and still later by Philo of Alexandria; see my *Traditions*, 750-51. All the more remarkable, then, that the original author apparently knew nothing about this theme.

(89) As in the case of Judah and Tamar (number 27 above). On the increasingly important role of repentance in rabbinic Judaism, see David Lambert, "Topics in the History of Repentance: from the Hebrew Bible to early Judaism and Christianity" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2004).

(90) See on both J. Rubinstein, *The History of Sukkot During the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 93-98.

(91) *m. Abot*, 5:3.

(92) *m. Megillah* 4:9, *b. Megillah* 25a.

(93) To this topic the Mishnah devoted an entire tractate, *Ma'aser Šeni*.

(94) E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 135-183, esp. 161-62

versy (49:10-12); (95) **I** and, of course (the Interpreter's great theme), that the Heavenly Tablets, like the Torah in rabbinic midrash, (96) have always been in heaven and thus existed even before human beings did. This is surely not a complete list, but it may help in locating the Interpolator more precisely in the chronology of the Second Temple period.

It is tempting to seek to connect the Interpolator's supplementing of *Jubilees* with a particular group and/or setting in Second Temple times. One possible candidate is the Qumran community or the larger movement of which it was apparently a part. In favor of such a thesis is the large number of manuscripts of *Jubilees* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (fifteen or sixteen copies), and the fact that it was cited by name as an authoritative document in *Damascus Covenant* (CD 16:2-4). In matters of *halakhah*, scholars have pointed out the similarity of *Jubilees* to documents plausibly identified as have originated at Qumran, and some of these *halakhot* are among the items penned by the Interpolator – for example, elements of his sabbath law (compare *Jub.* 2:29-30 and CD 10:22-11:9). The fit is not perfect, however: many items in the Qumran sabbath laws have no parallel in the Interpolator's. It might thus be better to see even the Interpolator's additions as preceding at least the forms of the *Damascus Covenant* known to us from the Cairo Geniza and 4Q270 6 v and 4Q271 5 i. What is more, the oldest of the Qumran manuscripts of *Jubilees*, 4Q216 (dated palaeographically to the period 125-100 BCE, “and perhaps even toward the middle of the second century”), (97) already contains the Interpolator's sabbath laws. This would suggest that he himself lived at the very beginning of the Qumran community's founding, if not earlier. By the same token, the Interpolator's remarks never seem to evoke any particular community of followers of the right path (as do many sectarian documents from Qumran), nor do they demonstrate anything like the “sons of light” versus “sons of darkness” dualism found there.

How Dare He?

One question rarely addressed in regard to texts that have undergone interpolations or (still more so) extensive rewriting is: How dare a later interpolator or redactor tamper with an established text? No doubt this question has more than one answer, depending in part on the particular text involved and the nature of the changes. In general, however, it is probably wise for us to put aside our own modern

(95) See above on *m. Pes.* 5:3, *m. Makkot* 3:3.

(96) Urbach, *The Sages*, 286-87; Kugel, *Traditions*, 68-70.

(97) See J. C. VanderKam, and J. T. Milik “The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication,” *JBL* 110 (1991): [243-70], p. 246.

notions of the immutability of an established text. The array of different text traditions for various biblical books evidenced at Qumran and elsewhere, as well as the existence of slight but deliberate alterations of the Pentateuch in the “Rewritten Pentateuch” genre, should convince any skeptic that tampering with established and even authoritative texts was simply something that went on in ancient times.

In the case of *Jubilees*’ Interpolator, however, there is a further factor to be considered. *Jubilees* was, by all accounts, a very significant book in Second Temple times. Certainly the fact that this book was translated into Greek, and subsequently into Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic, attests to its ongoing importance. But well before that, it seems to have been an important member of Israel’s sacred library. In addition to its popularity at Qumran (see above), its influence on ancient writings apparently originating from elsewhere is also considerable. It apparently was used extensively by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, for example. (98) Still earlier, I believe, parts of it were incorporated into the *Aramaic Levi Document*. (99) Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine that one or more Second Temple factions made the recitation and contemplation of *Jubilees*’ words part of their regular study of authoritative texts.

Such study – if one may analogize from the case of the Pentateuch and other authoritative texts – did not just involve studying the text’s own words, but *drawing practical lessons* from those words. The rabbinic genre of *midrash halakhah* was essentially that: a biblical verse was read aloud and then “interpreted” by the rabbinic teacher to include all the halakhic particulars that could be connected with it. Such interpretations were eventually committed to writing and survive in such tannaitic collections as *Mekhilta deR. Ishmael*, *Sifra*, *Sifrei* and so forth, but it seems likely that this genre was originally an oral one, a fixed accompaniment of scriptural study. (100) More generally, the so-called “Rewritten Bible” genre seems to be of a similar character: it most likely developed as a way of incorporating individual interpretations of biblical verses – many of which had

(98) The priority of *Jubilees* to *GA* has been maintained by J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1966), 14; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives,” in M. Stone and E. Chazon, *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137-58; C. A. Evans, “The *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Rewritten Bible,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 162 [153-65]; in a recent paper, I tried to support this thesis from a different angle, “Which Is Older, *Jubilees* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*? An Exegetical Approach,” presented at “The Dead Sea Scrolls After 60 Years,” Israel Museum, Jerusalem, July 8, 2008.

(99) See J. Kugel, “How Old is the Aramaic Levi Document?” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 14 (2007): 291-312.

(100) This idea is explored at length in D. Weiss Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah and Gemara: The Jewish Predilection for Justified Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), particularly 18-37.

presumably been passed on orally as a way of answering specific questions raised by the biblical narrative – into a single, smoothly flowing re-narration of the biblical story in question.

If *Jubilees* was indeed studied along these same lines, the lessons that were drawn from its pages – by one teacher, at least, or by the group from which he came – are represented in the Interpolator's insertions. The fact that the overwhelming majority of these insertions deal with laws suggests that – as with rabbinic *midrash halakhah* – the Interpolator's concern was often with the proper interpretation and application of biblical statute: the prohibition of “work” on the sabbath, he said, is meant to include specifically such-and-such; the law of the tithe is to be handled in this fashion; “between the evenings” means in the last third of the day; and so forth. Perhaps, as with *midrash halakhah*, these halakhic footnotes were passed on orally for a time. But unlike Pharisaic Judaism, other Jewish groups had little love for oral traditions and the “teachings of the elders”; on the contrary, exclusive reliance on purportedly ancient *written* documents was their hallmark. (101) If so, there must have been considerable pressure for the incorporation of these halakhic lessons *into the written text of Jubilees* itself.

That might also explain why *Jubilees*, rather than the Pentateuch itself, was the Interpolator's choice for these insertions. By the mid-second century BCE, any major, sectarian tampering with the Pentateuch would surely have been a controversial undertaking; its text was simply too widely known, and its study too well entrenched, across the spectrum of Jewish groups. *Jubilees*, however, was presumably a somewhat different case. What is more, no matter how popular *Jubilees* may have been in other circles, it was certainly not a favorite of the Pharisees, so they would care little about halakhic insertions here and there.

There may have been another advantage to tampering with *Jubilees*. If the Pharisees were – as they are presented in the New Testament and elsewhere – experts in the exegesis of biblical law, their exegetical traditions were of necessity confined to the books of *Exodus* through *Deuteronomy*. *Genesis*, as far as they were concerned, had no legal teachings to speak of. It was thus wide open to the legal interpretations of the Interpolator, so long as one assumed that the original *Jubilees* was an authoritative book that accurately portrayed the fact that certain laws presented later in the Pentateuch had in fact been adumbrated in the stories of *Genesis* about Noah, Abraham, Levi, and other early figures. All the Interpolator had to do was insert his own ideas into the original author's teachings about the legal implications of the stories of these figures (or of Dinah, Reuben and Bilhah, Judah and Tamar), or insert his own modifications into the original author's

(101) Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, esp. 42-50.

version of the laws of circumcision or the Festivals of Booths or First Fruits – without any fear of contradiction from those “doctors of the law” whose exegetical traditions began only with *Exodus* 12.

Such considerations cover some, but hardly all of the Interpolator’s insertions. Many others, as we have seen, simply seek to draw a connection between an incident in *Genesis* and a law promulgated later on in the Pentateuch, without further elaboration of the law in question (impurity after childbirth, Cain and Abel, *tamid* sacrifices, and so forth). What did the Interpolator gain by augmenting the number of such adumbrations and precedents for laws that appear later on? Though the creation of such precedents was not, as we have seen, the Interpolator’s invention, he latched onto the idea enthusiastically. It was said above that the Interpolator’s determinism had something to do with this, but that is probably not the whole story. It seems to me that inserting little foreshadowings of later statutes into the text of *Jubilees* served another purpose as well: it helped to solidify *Jubilees*’ “canonical” status, tying it by two dozen individual threads to the later books of *Exodus* through *Deuteronomy*. If it could be argued that many parts of the book of *Jubilees* actually foreshadowed something later made explicit in the divinely given legislation of Sinai, this might well serve to bring *Jubilees* itself under the Sinai umbrella, vouchsafing its revealed and authoritative character for all generations – despite such denials as might then have been emanating from the Pharisees.

Such factors, it seems to me, combined to create the book of *Jubilees* in its final form, an ancient work that came to be supplemented by the series of interpolations described above. I wish to end by once again acknowledging the particular dependence of the present article on the earlier studies by Michael Segal and Liora Ravid. What I have done here has been principally to combine their insights and try to fit them together into an overall understanding of the complex and sometimes contradictory teachings of the book of *Jubilees*.

James KUGEL

A SUFFERING MESSIAH AT QUMRAN?

Some Observations on the Debate about *IQIsa^a*

MARTIN HENGEL's statement that pre-Christian Judaism interpreted *Isaiah 53* in a messianic sense is founded, among other things, on a particular reading of *Isa 52:14*, to be found in *IQIsa^a* (1). That document is one of the longest among the Qumran manuscripts and it may be dated (on palaeographic grounds) back to 100 B.C.E (2). *IQIsa^a* is interesting as it could provide crucial information about a specific interpretation of the Suffering Servant, which may be regarded as a possible background for the early-Christian messianic interpretation of such a mysterious character. Furthermore, the absence of any kind of reference to *Isa 53* within the five fragmentary *Isaiah pešarim* found at Qumran (3) makes *IQIsa^a* even more precious for us.

The great importance of this Qumranic copy of *Isaiah* lies in its reading of *Isa 52:14b*: “*k'šr šmmw 'lykh rbyrn kn mšhty m'yš mr'hw.*” The passage could be translated as follows: “Just as many were astonished at you, so I anointed his appearance beyond anyone else.”

At first sight, it might look a passage expressing a sectarian belief in a messianic embodiment of the *'ebed YHWH*. It is God Himself who states that He anointed (*mšhty*) the Servant “more than any

(1) See M. Hengel, “The Effective History of *Isaiah 53* in the Pre-Christian Period,” in B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher (eds.), *The Suffering Servant. Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids, 2004 [orig. ed. Tübingen, 1996]), 101-105.

(2) For the text of *IQIsa^a* see M. Burrows ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Heaven, 1950); see also the new edition of the scroll by D.W. Parry and E. Qimron (eds.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (IQIsa^a): A New Edition* (Leiden, 1999).

(3) See J. Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book. Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids, 2006), 106-128.

other,” while there is no reference whatever to the Masoretic “mar-ring” of him: “*ka’āšer šāmāmû ‘ālêkâ rabbîm kên mišḥat mē’iš mar’ēhû*” (“Just as many were astonished at you, so was his appearance marred beyond anyone else.”)

Seemingly, we have a sectarian reading providing both a definite and positive answer to the long-debated question about the existence of a pre-Christian messianic interpretation of the Servant (4).

Thus, following Millar Burrows’ first edition of the Isaianic scroll, the discovery of that variant gave rise to a lively debate among scholars, always deeply interested in any Qumranic data likely to disclose a better understanding of the origins of Christianity. But such an attitude has often resulted in a sort of misjudgement, both methodological and scientific, involving the risk of reading Qumran texts (that is Jewish texts) from a peculiarly and mostly Christian point of view. Therefore, the warning voiced by García Martínez some fifteen years ago (“the Dead Sea Scrolls do not explain Christianity to us but help us know the Judaism from which Christianity was born” (5)) still sounds very useful.

So much for the cultural and historical context of the early studies on the above-said Qumranic textual evidence. Let us now examine and discuss that complex and intriguing problem, starting from one of the best-known analyses of *Isa* 52:14b (according to *IQIsa^a*).

The first to point out the Isaianic reading was Dominique Barthélemy in a contribution on «Revue Biblique» dated 1950. (6) More than thirty years later, he dealt with the same subject in a long and detailed *excursus* contained in his *Critique textuelle de l’Ancient Testament*, where we find an useful *status quaestionis*, as well as an extensive documentation about the textual and exegetical history of the above-quoted Isaianic passage.

In his article, Barthélemy is rather unwilling to affirm that *IQIsa^a* (being so far the oldest Jewish text of the book of *Isaiah*) contains the authentic reading of *Isa* 52:14b. Nevertheless, he prefers a reading linked to the root of “anointing” (*mšḥ*) rather than to the root of

(4) For a comprehensive view of the question, in addition to the quoted volume by B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant*, see J. Jeremias, *Παῖς Θεοῦ*, in *TWNT*, V, 664-698; S.K. Williams, *Jesus’ Death as Saving Event. The Background and Origin of a Concept* (Missoula, 1975), 111-120; P. Grelot, “Serviteur de YHWH,” in *SDB*, XII, 1000-1005; W.H. Bellinger, Jr. and W.R. Farmer (eds.), *Jesus and the Suffering Servant. Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (Harrisburg, 1998).

(5) F. García Martínez, “The Dead Sea Scrolls, Jesus Christ and the Origins of Christianity,” in Idem and J. Treballe Barrera, eds., *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995 [orig. Ed. Madrid, 1993]), 198.

(6) D. Barthélemy, “Le grand rouleau d’Isaïe trouvé près de la Mer Morte,” *RB* 57 (1950): 530-549. Also see F. Nötscher, “Entbehrliche Hapaxlegomena in Jesaja,” *VT* 1 (1951): 301.

“marring” (*šht*), due to several syntactical and semantic remarks. (7) By accepting the meaning of the first root, indeed, two *crucis* of the Masoretic passage (the correctness of which is really hard to maintain) could finally find a satisfying solution:

- First of all, a reference to “anointing” makes the Masoretic expression at the following line, *yazze^h gôyim rabbîm* (“he shall sprinkle many nations”), finally intelligible. At that same point, the LXX has θαυμάσονται, a matching that could be explained with a reference to the context (*Isa* 52:5, 14a.15b; 53:1), whereas the apparatus criticus of the MT suggests several other readings, none of which really convincing. (8) If we accept the Qumranic reading, the meaning of the passage would be that the Servant-Messiah, anointed by God, can consequently anoint many nations of the world, by sprinkling them.
- Then, the suggested reading removes the Masoretic *hapax legomenon mšht* (vocalized *mišhat*), an ambiguous term and one which is grammatically difficult to explain. According to various lexicographers and grammarians, the MT reading has been regarded as a) the construct of the noun *mišhā^h* (“anointing”); b) the absolute form of the biblically unknown noun *mišhāt* (“marring”); c) a corrupt form of the word *mošhat* (“disfigured,” “marred”), *hofal* participle from *šht* (9)? The LXX renders it with the strange and unusual verb ἀδοξήσει (“to be ill-famed,” with the meaning of “to be looked down”), a Septuagintal *hapax* that Hengel explains as “deliberate wordplay on the δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα of verse 13,” (10) and the *Vulgate* with “inglorius erit.” (11)

(7) D. Barthélemy, “Le grand rouleau,” 546-549.

(8) Both Aquila and Theodotion have παντίσει (“he will sprinkle”). Symmachus reads ἀποβαλεῖ (“he will drive away”), the Targum *ybd*r (“he will scatter”). It is highly probable that the LXX reflects a different Hebrew *Vorlage*: while Hengel (“The Effective Story of Isaiah 53,” 104, n. 96) suggests that the LXX reading might derive from *yirgōzû* (“[many nations] will tremble” or “will be worried”), Leveen emends *yazze^h* with *yibzuhû* (“[many nations] shall despise him”; see J. Leveen, “y^zh in Isaiah LII. 15,” *JJS* 7 [1956]: 94). Ziegler considered that the translator read *yehēzû* from *hāzāh* (in the meaning of “seeing in amazement”; see J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Munster, 1934), 163. However, as Ekblad remarks, “there are no places in the LXX where this matching occurs” (E.R. Ekblad, *Isaiah’s Servant Poems according to the Septuagint: an Exegetical and Theological Study* [Leuven, 1999], 188).

(9) In his far-off commentary on the *Second Isaiah*, Charles C. Torrey read it as a combination of the *nifal* participle (*nišhat*) with the *hofal* participle (*mošhat*). See C.C. Torrey, *Second Isaiah* (Edinburgh, 1927), 415 f.

(10) M. Hengel, “The Effective History of Isaiah 53,” 122. Also see E.R. Ekblad, *Isaiah’s Servant Poems*, 185.

(11) The Peshitta reads *mhl* (“destroyed,” “marred”), the Targum *hšwk* (“[his appearance] was dark”).

According to Barthélemy, those are the most important advantages of the Qumranic variant. In the second volume of his *Critique textuelle*, he then confirms and specifies his former suggestion. (12) *Mšhty* is to be considered a *lectio facilior* of an original substantive linked to the root *mšh* (perhaps *mišḥat*, construct of the noun *mišḥā^h*) and the phrase is to be read as follows: “the anointing of his appearance (is) beyond anyone else”.

Nevertheless, the pre-Masoretic interpretation of such a term as in connection with *šht* had been probably so strong and deep-rooted, that the *Massorah* opted for precisely the ambiguous vocalization *mišḥat*, “choisi comme un mot ambigu qui dit ‘onction’ et qui évoque ‘destruction’;” (13) the interpretation, then, wavers between the “anointing” and the “marring” roots, though the first reading (found for the first time in Qumran) (14) was most likely the original one. (15)

Paolo Sacchi (16) pointed out that, although the great importance of such a textual evidence, since 1950 criticism as a whole has taken virtually no interest in that Qumranic reading and it has nearly ignored the new variant. According to him, that exegetical attitude

(12) D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancient Testament* (Fribourg-Göttingen, 1986) II, 385-395.

(13) *Ibidem*, 392.

(14) Barthélemy informs us about at least five Jewish commentators which, among the XII and the XIX century, “ont proposé de lire ici l'idée d'une onction” (*ibidem*, 388). For three of them (Jacob ben Reuben the Qaraite, Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugency, Rabbi Sh'lomoh Astruc of Barcelona) see their original texts and translation in the two volumes by A. Neubauer and S.R. Driver, eds., *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters* (New York, 1969). In a contribution on *The Jewish Quarterly Review* dated 1975, Yehuda Komlosh maintains that, although these three interpretations fail to trace the proper origin of the word *mišḥat*, they “bring us nearer to a solution of this difficulty than all other commentators, because, by giving a positive meaning to the word, the subject matter of the passage lii 13, 15 is rendered uniform, so that there is no longer any need to transpose Verse 14 and transfer it to follow Verse liii 2” (Y. Komlosh, “The Countenance of the Servant of the Lord, was it marred?,” *JQR* 65 [1975]: 219). According to him, *mišḥat* derives from the Aramaic *mišḥā*, which means “measure” and occurs several times in the Targumim signifying a person of great stature. Thus, Komlosh suggests that the correct reading of the verse should be “*mišḥātō*, his stature more than any man, and his visage and his form unlike the sons of men” (*ibidem*, 220). In his opinion, that rendering might be supported by the Qumranic variant of *IQIsa^d*, since in the scrolls there is sometimes no difference between the form of the *yod* and the *waw*.

(15) The same ambiguity of the Masoretic form *mišḥat* (being as equally possible the construct of the noun *mišḥā^h*, “anointing,” as of the noun *mišḥāt*, “marring”) is argued by W.H. Brownlee. He maintains that “the reading of the Isaiah Scroll rests upon this ambiguity [...] and that it represents simply an easier construction for the purpose of making clear a supposed messianic inference in the word *mišḥat*” (W.H. Brownlee, “The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I,” *BASOR* 132 [1953]: 11).

(16) P. Sacchi, “Idelogia e varianti della tradizione ebraica: Deut 27, 4 e Is 52, 14,” in H. Merkley, K. Müller and G. Stemmerger (eds.), *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition. Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn, 1993), 26-32.

was not due to any compelling reasons suggesting preference should be given to the MT reading, but to sheer, amazing, superficiality, coupled with generally shallow arguments. (17)

While I agree with Sacchi's suggestion that such a Qumranic *unicum* deserves careful consideration, I still find Barthélemy's conjecture about a wavering and shifting root from *mšh* to *šht* not totally convincing. These are some proofs *e contrario*:

- The verb *nāzā^h*, generally used as *hifil* (*yazze^h*) in the OT, is a technical term for the ritual action of sprinkling someone or something with blood, oil and water. In all the biblical passages where the object of the sprinkling is mentioned, the sprinkled thing or person is always introduced by particles as 'el or 'al ("upon") and the verb *yazze^h* is never used with a direct object, that is with "its recipients placed in accusative relationship." (18) Thus, although *Isa* 52:15a might be made intelligible by the previous reference to the anointing of the Servant, the passage at issue still shows a difficult grammatical construction. Furthermore, there is no other reference to sprinkling in the following lines (nor in the overall context of the Fourth Servant Song) and I do not recall any other biblical or extra-biblical occurrences of the idea of successive anointing, or rather of a "chain anointing" (God anoints the Servant, who, in his turn, sprinkles the nations). In short, everything points to the possibility that the passage in hand may be irreparably corrupt. I think that we should then take into consideration just the opposite of what Barthélemy suggests: perhaps, it was the need to understand v.15a that produced the reading *mšhty* in the previous line. Perhaps, the Qumranic variant is a *lectio facilior* from that specific point of view.
- Barthélemy's reading replaces an *hapax legomenon* by another one. In fact, although the unusual expression *māšah min* ("to anoint more than, beyond") is found in another biblical passage like *Ps* 45:8, (19) Burrows (followed by Joseph Reider and Alfred Guillaume) has already pointed out that "the idea of anointing a person's appearance seems intrinsically unlikely." (20) That argument, above all, makes me rather in-

(17) *Ibidem*, 27-28.

(18) W.H. Brownlee, "The Servant," 10. Also see P.E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe. Son disciple et leurs éditeurs. Isaïe 40-66* (Paris, 1972), 266 n. 15 and H.J. Hermisson, "The Fourth Servant Song in the Context of Second Isaiah," in B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant*, 29, n. 42

(19) *Ps* 45:8 reads as follows: "[...] *kēn māšāhākā 'ēlohīm 'ēlohēkā* [...] *mēhābērēkā*" ("[...] God, your God has anointed you [...] above your fellows").

(20) M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, 314. See J. Reider, "On MŠHTY in the Qumran Scrolls," *BASOR* 134 (1954): 27; A. Guillaume, "Some Readings in the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah," *JBL* 76 (1957): 41:

clined to reject all the readings suggesting a term, whatever it is, linked to the idea of anointing.

- I consider both the closer and the wider context of *Isa* 52:14b not really consistent with a reference to “anointing.” Contrary to Barthélemy, I think that the words introduced by the first *kēn* (*Isa* 52:14b-c) are simply parenthetical (21) and can be read as an anticipation of the description of the deep and widespread astonishment, (*šāmāmû ‘ālêkâ rabbîm*) aroused by the Servant. The glorification of the *‘ēbed* causes so much wonder (*Isa* 52:14a,15b; 53:1-2) because everyone still remembers his former state of pain and prostration and cannot forget how many humiliation he suffered and how much he was marred (22). Everybody knows who the Servant was and how much he was torn, before being exalted and glorified by God.

I will summarize Sacchi’s hypothesis about the Isaianic variant, before discussing it. Unlike Barthélemy and almost all scholars the studied that Qumranic passage, he regards *mšḥty* as both original and correct. (23) He translates *Isa* 52:14 as follows: “Come le moltitudini sono restate stupite davanti a te [...], allo stesso modo io ho unto il suo volto (rendendolo) al di sopra dell’uomo e il suo aspetto al di sopra di quello dei figli dell’uomo” (24).

Mšḥty is exactly the verb in the first person singular that one would expect after *Isa* 52:13 (*hinnēh yāskîl ‘abdî*, “See, my servant will achieve success”) and, above all, it provides the positive meaning that the beginning of the Song seems to require (25). So, it is both grammatically fit and conceptually consistent. The messianic anoint-

he explains both *mišḥat* and *mšḥty* as deriving from the homonymous Arabic root *mšḥ* (in the sense of “to gall,” “to exhaust”).

(21) See Barthélemy’s opposite point of view: “Il est pourtant permis de se demander si l’on est tenu d’admettre comme un dogme que [...] seul le second *kēn* est le correspondant du *ka’āšer* initial. Nous suggérerons qu’une exégèse d’ensemble, qui permettrait de considérer les deux *kēn* comme correspondant tous deux à la particule comparative *ka’āšer*, mériterait d’être, à ce titre, prise en considération” (D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 386).

(22) See Tournay: “La construction de la phrase comparative suppose, non une «progression» de pensée, mais une similitude ou une opposition; c’est ce dernier cas qui se vérifie ici, le poète évoquant l’exaltation du Serviteur qui succédera de façon merveilleuse à son humiliation si profonde” (R. Tournay, “Bulletin. Livres prophétiques,” *RB* 72 [1965]: 130)

(23) On *Mšḥty* as original reading also see I. Cardellini, “*MİŞHAT*. Un termine controverso in Isaia 52, 14,” in A. Gasperoni (ed.), *Fedeli a Dio, fedeli all’uomo* (Bologna, 2004), 41-47; G. Pulcinelli, *La morte di Gesù come espiazione. La concezione paolina* (Cinisello Balsamo [Mi], 2007), 130-132.

(24) P. Sacchi, “Ideologia e varianti,” 30.

(25) Also see I. Cardellini, “*MİŞHAT*,” 45. Furthermore, he suggests that the idea of “anointing” makes the correlation *ka’āšer+kēn+kēn* (vv. 14-15) more balanced than if we interpret *mišḥat* in the sense of “marring” (*ibidem*, 46).

ing is the climax of the Servant's glorification, after all the pains and the violent death he suffered *in the place* and *in favour* of many.

Nevertheless, the most interesting aspect of Sacchi's proposal lies in the political and ideological reasons he recognizes behind the real *damnatio memoriae* carried out against that particular messianic type. In his opinion, such a *damnatio* pervades the whole textual tradition, with the surprising exception of *IQIsa^a*. Sacchi identifies the Servant with Zerubbabel (26) and suggests that the Masoretic reading *mišḥat* is the result of some early textual corruption, prior to the LXX version, suggested by the priestly ideology that prevailed after the final defeat of the House of David.

I will reply to Sacchi's suggestions with two different remarks, one of a syntactical and one of a methodological kind, both to be added to the above-said arguments against the hypothesis of an original reading linked to the idea of "anointing:"

- Even though we insert in *Isa* 52:14b a verb in the first person singular (as the *incipit* of the Song seems to require), some of the textual difficulties linked to the syntactical and grammatical concords of the passage still remain. Above all, the suffix of a second person singular in v. 14a (*ka'āšer šāmāmū 'ālêkā rabbîm*) sounds strikingly out of place. In my opinion, Sacchi's suggestion that — unlike the following possessive forms in third person singular — *'ālêkā* does not refer to the Servant, but directly to Israel (God's implicit interlocutor) is a little far-fetched. It seems to me that there is nothing here to support his interpretation and nothing to allow such a distinction: no manuscript inserts here the explanatory note *yîsrā'êl*, indicative of a collective exegesis, (27) while the Syriac and the Targumic traditions correct *'ālêkā* in *'ālā(y)w* ("[they were astonished] at him"), suggesting an homologation, rather than a distinction, of the suffixes. Thus, I think that any attempt at harmonizing and giving coherency to such a hard and a corrupt passage is almost inevitably doomed to failure.

(26) With respect to that, see P. Sacchi, "L'esilio e la fine della monarchia davidica," *Henoch* 11 (1989): 131-148. The identification of the *'eḇed* with Zerubbabel was suggested at the end of 19th century by E. Sellin, *Serubbabel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der messianischen Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judentums* (Leipzig, 1898). That hypothesis has been revived after eighty years by H. Cazelles, *Le Messie de la Bible* (Paris, 1978), 141-148 (though still doubtful between Zerubbabel and his predecessor Yehoyakin) and P. Grelot, *Les Poèmes du Serviteur: De la lecture critique à l'herméneutique* (Paris, 1981), 67-73 and Idem, "Serviteur de YHWH," *SDB* XII, 997-1000.

(27) I remind that all the textual tradition of *Second Isaiah* (with the exception of few Hebrew manuscripts) inserts such an explanatory note nine times (*Isa* 41:8a-b; 43:10; 44:1,2,21; 44:4; 45: 4; 48:20; 49:3). Furthermore, only the LXX uses it in *Isa* 42:1: here Ἰακώβ is "my servant" and Ἰσραήλ is "my chosen one".

- The identification of the *ʿebed* with the king Zerubbabel is one of the most intriguing hermeneutical hypothesis ever advanced in the course of the age-long debate about the original identity of the Servant. Nevertheless, this datum is still far from being definitely acquired and it could be hazardous, to say the least, to make it the basis of a new exegetical proposal. Even Grelot, aware of the ideological problems related to the above-said interpretation, avoided to read the Fourth Song in the light of his personal hermeneutics of the Servant and “de voir, dans Is LII 13-LIII, 12, un texte prophétique relatif à la souffrance et à la mort de Zorobabel [...]: il suffit, [...], que le prophète ait rattaché sa théologie de la souffrance rédemptrice aux malheurs de la dinastie davidique, chacun de ses représentants étant, comme l’ancêtre, un ‘Serviteur de YHWH’ en vue de son dessein.” (28) Therefore, it would seem that such an identification, rather than being definitively confirmed by the history of the text as resulting from the Qumranic evidence, (29) is simply assumed as the necessary condition of a discussion finding both its starting point and its confirmation in such an uncertain interpretation.

In sum, I do not claim to be able to reconstruct the textual history of that passage, lacking both further evidence, and the means (and, probably, the knowledge) required to solve the question at issue. I’m just stating that I prefer a reading linked to the idea of the physical “marring” and to the “disfigurement” of the Servant’s face, rather than one connected to the messianic concept of “anointing.” I am inclined to think that in 52:14b the text from which *QIsa^a* was copied contained a verb or a noun from *šḥt*, perhaps written with the same four consonants found in the MT (*mšḥt*), and I suppose that the Qumranic variant may be read as “an example of an atomistic explanation [...] because the copyist did not understand *mšḥt*.” (30) The scribe did not understand that rare and strange form from *šḥt* and he substituted it with a more common form from *mšḥ*. That hypothesis might be confirmed by the fact that, at the same point, the second Isaiah scroll (*QIsa^b*), which is later than *QIsa^a* and was

(28) P. Grelot, “Serviteur de YHWH,” 999.

(29) See Sacchi’s statement in “Ideologia e varianti,” 25, n. 26.

(30) E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (QIsa^a)* (Leiden, 1974), 262. Both J. Reider (“On MŠHTY,” 28) and A. Rubinstein (“Isaiah LII 14 – מִשְׁחָת – and the DSIa Variant,” *Bib* 35 [1954]: 475-479) regard the Qumranic variant as a *hofal* participle in the construct state with a *yod* added (like *ʾohabti* in *Hos* 10:11), but, as Kutscher remarks, it “does not seem to be a single sure instance of such a *yod* in the Scrolls” (E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language*, 262). W.H. Brownlee puts forward the same argument against Reider’s hypothesis in his reply to “On MŠHTY,” 28.

transcribed by a different copyist, does not show that final, crucial, *yod*. (31)

Nevertheless, even we are faced with a scribal error, we still have to ask ourselves what concurred to make it possible, that is which ideological background could explain such an astonishing outcome. Theoretically, even from a simple scribal error — especially one arising such a deep semantic alteration of the passage — it is not impossible to trace back the ideology of the sect that was handing on the text containing any specific variant: with respect to that aspect of the question, it is important to recall that most Qumran scrolls contained documents that were regarded as normative texts and that were read over and over again by people (the Qumranites) being wholly familiar with every single word of them. In short, *mšḥty*, though resulting from a scribal error, could reflect a messianic interpretation as well. (32)

Yet, no Qumranic evidence has been found of a messianic interpretation of the *ʿebed YHWH*: nothing in 4Q541, nothing in 4Q285, nothing regarding the “Teacher of Righteousness.” (33) Therefore, any attempts to insert the scribal error in a wider ideological context cannot but be vain — no matter how deep is our disappointment at having to ascribe such a crucial textual datum to a simple human carelessness.

Emiliano Rubens URCIUOLI

(31) For the text of *IQIas*^b see E.L. Sukenik (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem, 1955).

(32) In “The Effective History,” 105, Martin Hengel suggests that “this interesting variant in *IQIsa*^a could be based on a conscious interpretation of Isaiah 52:14 in Qumran.”

(33) References to a Suffering Messiah have been pointed out in 4Q541 (fr. 9 and 24) and in 4Q285 (fr. 5), but it is possible to say that they have been definitively confuted. For the first one, see J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, New York 1995, 125-126; for the second one, G. Vermès, “The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285),” *JSJ* 43 (1992): 85-90 and C. Martone, “Un testo qumranico che narra la morte del Messia? A Proposito del recente dibattito su 4Q285, *Riv.Bib.* 42 (1994): 329-336. Even less tenable is the messianic interpretation of the “Teacher of Righteousness” given fifty years ago by A. Dupont-Sommer in *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris 1950) and in *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* (Paris 1959) none of the Qumran scholars follows it any longer.

LE RETOUR AU TEMPLE DE JÉRUSALEM (4Q173a olim 4Q173 5)?

LE MANUSCRIT 4Q173 (4QpPs^b) a été nommé « commentaire des psaumes B » par J.M. Allegro (1) en 1968. Celui-ci regroupe cinq fragments tenus sous cette appellation. Cependant, J. Strugnell (2) dissocia le fragment 5 des autres car l'écriture du fragment date d'au moins un demi-siècle après celle des autres fragments d'époque hérodiennne ancienne. Le fragment devenu le manuscrit 4Q173a a été réédité par M.P. Horgan (3) et nommé « Fragment de la maison d'obstacle ». On propose une nouvelle lecture du texte afin de mettre en lumière le message contenu dans ce fragment.

Proposition de déchiffrement et traduction

- | | |
|--|---|
| [... יע]ברו מעל[...] | 1 |
| [... ב]ית מכשול [...] | 2 |
| [... קרנ]ות המזבח י[...] | 3 |
| [... זה] השער לאל צדיק[ים יבאו בו ...] | 4 |
| [... נ]קובי שמות וחרות[ים ...] | 5 |
| [... ל] ליעקוב[...] | 6 |

- 1 [...] ils [en]lèveront l'iniquité[...]
- 2 [...mai]son de scandale [...]
- 3 [...corne]s de l'autel [...]
- 4 [...C'est] la porte de Dieu, [que] les juste[s] entrent par elle !...]
- 5 [... ceux qui ont été dé]signés nominativement et gravé[s ...]
- 6 [...] à Jacob[...]

(1) J.M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)*, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V*, Oxford 1968, 51-2 et pl. XVIII.

(2) J. Strugnell, « Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan', » *Revue de Qumrân* 7 (1969-1971) 219-220.

(3) M.P. Horgan, « House of Stumbling Fragment », dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents*, ed. by J.H. Charlesworth *et al.*, vol. 6B, Tübingen-Louisville 2002, 363-5.

Notes de lecture

1. Ou « ils [dis]paraîtront devant ». La première proposition de traduction rappelle *Za* 3:4 où un ange ordonne à « ceux qui se tenaient devant lui » d'ôter les habits sales de Josué pour le vêtir d'habits de fête. Lors du rituel d'investiture du grand-prêtre, le geste signifie le pardon des fautes. La seconde proposition de traduction rappelle *Jr* 11:15 où la chair sacrée déposée au Temple disparaîtra devant le pécheur de Jérusalem et de Juda. Si on suppose une métathèse graphique, on peut rapprocher l'expression de **בעבור מעלם**, « à cause de leur iniquité », en 4Q387 2 ii 3. La traduction « ils [pas]seront devant/au-dessus » n'est pas attestée.

2. Ou « d'obstacle », « de malheur ». La locution est attestée pour la première fois. Elle maugrée probablement le Temple de Jérusalem. Le mot **מכשול** désigne le scandale, l'obstacle comme en *Jr* 6:21 où YHWH annonce l'invasion d'Israël en stigmatisant l'inefficacité des offrandes et des sacrifices. Dans un contexte fustigeant les idoles, « tout obstacle du chemin » du peuple doit être enlevé selon *Is* 57:14 ou « l'obstacle de son iniquité » doit être déplacé lorsque le nouvel adepte entre dans l'Alliance selon *IQS* II 12.17 ; *IQH^a* XII 15 ; 4Q430 3. Avant et après *Is* 57:14, il est fait allusion au Temple. Dans un oracle en *Is* 8:14, Dieu est qualifié de « sanctuaire mais aussi une pierre d'achoppement (**אבן נִפִּי**), un rocher de scandale (**צור מכשול**, cf. 4Q525 23,9) pour les deux maisons d'Israël, un filet (**פח**) et un piège (**מוקש**) pour les habitants de Jérusalem ».

3. Au regard de la citation probable du *Ps* 118:20 à la ligne suivante, on a restauré l'expression attestée en *Ps* 118:27 mais aussi en *Ex* 8:15 ; 9:9 ; 16:18 ; *1 Rois* 1:50.51 ; 2:28 ; *Ap* 9:13. Les lettres du mot suivant ne correspondent pas au *Ps* 118:28. Aucun de ces passages n'est suivi par un mot débutant par un *yod*. Si on lit plutôt un *waw*, seuls *1 Rois* 1:50 ; 2:28 pourraient convenir avec le mot **ויגד** mais la lecture d'un *yod* en deuxième position est difficile. Outre cette restauration, d'autres mots se terminant par **ות** sont connus avant **המזבח** dans la Bible hébraïque : voir *Ex* 27:7 ; 38:7 ; *Lv* 4:18 ; *Nb* 8:5 ; *2 Rois* 16:10 ; *Éz* 40:46 ; 43:13.18 ; *Am* 3:14.

4. Les mots conservés suggèrent de restaurer le *Ps* 118:20, seul parallèle connu avec **השער לאל**. Dans le TM, le théonyme est YHWH. Il est remplacé par El, un substitut au tétragramme, conformément à la pratique attestée dans les manuscrits de Qumrân à partir de la période hérodienne, c'est-à-dire à partir du milieu du I^{er} siècle av. J. -C. (4) De plus, le théonyme et la préposition *lamed*

(4) Cf. D. Hamidović, *Les traditions du jubilé à Qumrân, Orientes sémitiques*, Paris 2007, 286-290.

préfixé sont écrits en alphabet cryptique A : les deux *lamed* sont écrits en caractères latins et le *aleph* est en écriture grecque.

5. Ou « les notables » selon *Am* 6:1. Ou עֲקוּבֵי, « les fourbes de », « les déçus de » comme en *Jr* 17:9. La locution restaurée et traduite semble préférable car le verbe suivi des « noms » est une expression attestée en *Nb* 1:17 ; *1 Chroniques* 12:31 ; 16:41 ; *2 Chroniques* 28:15 ; 31:19 ; *Esd* 8:20. Elle vise à préciser une désignation nominative et donc porter l'emphase sur les personnes désignées. En *1 Chroniques* 16:41, ceux qui sont désignés nominativement louent Dieu. Le participe passif de הָרַת pourrait indiquer que les personnes désignées nominativement ont leur nom gravé, probablement par Dieu, selon *Ex* 32:16. Si on postule une erreur d'écriture, le passage de *Jr* 17:1 mentionnerait le péché gravé de Juda « sur la table de leur cœur et sur les cornes de vos autels ». En *CD* IV 4-6, les « fils de Sadoq » sont « appelés d'un nom » et les noms des adeptes auraient été portés sur le cuir (5). Les autorités du groupe, « ceux qui voient », décèlent en chaque postulant des qualités, « sa vérité dans le détail de son Nom (6), de leurs noms » selon *CD* II 13. En *IQM* XII 2-3, le « livre des noms » des élus du peuple est conservé dans le Temple et l'Alliance de paix est gravée avec « le burin de vie ».

6. Le mot précédent se termine par un *lamed*, aucun mot de la Bible hébraïque suivi du mot conservé ne présente cette particularité.

Genre littéraire et contenu du manuscrit 4Q173a

Le fragment ainsi déchiffré ne permet pas de statuer sur le genre littéraire, ni sur la nature exacte du document. On ne peut identifier ce fragment avec un commentaire ou un *peshar* car les formules caractéristiques n'apparaissent pas dans le texte conservé. Toutefois, seule la citation du *Ps* 118:20 à la ligne 4 est probable. Sur ce seul argument, il est difficile de reconnaître un *peshar* des *Psaumes* ou un *peshar* du *Ps* 118 en particulier. L'expression de la ligne 3, même restaurée, ne se trouve pas uniquement en *Ps* 118:27, ce qui nuance la dernière hypothèse d'identification.

L'écriture cryptique A utilisée pour noter le théonyme El et sa préposition indique probablement un écrit sectaire copié au premier siècle de notre ère par les scribes de Qumrân (7). Si on suit la pensée essénienne développée dans les manuscrits de Qumrân, le contexte

(5) La liste des noms était déjà perdue à l'époque des copies de l'*Écrit de Damas* effectuées à Qumrân, cf. 4Q266 2 iii 24.

(6) La mention est absente de 4Q266 2 ii 13. La connaissance du Nom sous-tend la connaissance du mystère de la Création selon *1 Hénoch* LXIX 16-25.

(7) E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Leyde 2004, 203-6.

préservé pourrait s'apparenter à un reproche adressé au Temple de Jérusalem, la « maison de scandale », dont le sacrifice « aux cornes de l'autel » est impropre. La ligne 1 indique que l'impureté sera enlevée probablement par les esséniens. Alors les justes pourront entrer par « la porte de Dieu » (8) à la ligne 4. Ces justes ont été nommés par Dieu et leur nom a été gravé selon la ligne 5. La mention de Jacob, hors contexte à la ligne 6, est difficile à comprendre. À titre d'hypothèse, on pourrait rapprocher le nom du patriarche de la conclusion sur les fêtes dans le *Rouleau du Temple*. Dieu rappelle la création de son sanctuaire conformément à l'alliance conclue avec Jacob à Béthel (11Q19 XXIX 10).

En l'état du manuscrit, il est difficile de statuer sur des allusions au Temple eschatologique dans lequel les justes entrèrent. Le texte préservé pourrait aussi bien faire allusion au Temple terrestre que les esséniens souhaitent voir purifié. La rupture provisoire des esséniens avec le Temple de Jérusalem et son culte a suscité l'attente de sa purification (9). Le fragment semble envisager le retour des esséniens au Temple de Jérusalem, une fois celui-ci purifié. À ma connaissance, il s'agirait du seul passage préservé dans la bibliothèque de Qumrân qui annonce le retour explicite des esséniens au Temple de Jérusalem. D'autres textes font allusion au sanctuaire purifié mais ils sont rédigés selon le point de vue de Dieu (10).

David HAMIDOVIĆ

(8) Cf. D. Hamidović, « 'Les portes de justice' et 'la porte de YHWH' dans le Psaume 118,19-20, » *Biblica* 81 (2000) 544-550. Le manuscrit 4Q173a atteste au premier siècle après notre ère que la « porte de Dieu », « porte de YHWH » (Ps 118:20), était déjà comprise comme la porte d'entrée du Temple de Jérusalem.

(9) Cf. par ex., CD V 6-7 ; 1QpHab XII 8-9 ; Flavius Josèphe, *Antiquités Juives* XVIII §19.

(10) Comparer par ex., 11Q19 XXIX 7-10 ; *Jubilés* 1:15-17. 1 *Hénoch* 90:28-29.

4Q173a : NOTE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE

QUELQUES remarques complémentaires à l'étude de ce fragment, *olim* 4Q173 5, paraissent nécessaires. J. Strugnell a noté avec raison la non appartenance de ce fragment au manuscrit 4Q173 : l'écriture est d'une main différente et d'au moins un demi-siècle postérieure (1). Cette conclusion a été retenue par M.P. Horgan (2), F. García Martínez – E. Tigchelaar (3) et par D. Hamidović (4). Toutefois, avant de donner un titre à ce fragment, un déchiffrement acceptable doit en être fait.

4Q173a, fragment 1

[עברו סגן]ל[ה/תו]	1
[ב/ית מכשול]	2
על קרנ[ות המזבח וה]קריבו[וד]מ	3
זה [השער לאל צדי]קים יבאו בו	4
נ[קובי שמות וחרות]	5
אשר (ה)נח[י]ל ליעקוב]	6

(1) J. Strugnell, « Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan », *RevQ* 7/2 (1970) : 163-276, p. 219-20 : « Malheureusement J.M. Allegro a ajouté à ces fragments, de date hérodienne ancienne au plus tard, un autre fragment (n° 5) plus récent d'au moins un demi siècle ; ce dernier, bien qu'il contienne deux citations du Psaume 118, n'est pas nécessairement du genre littéraire *pešer* ; le fragment semble une pièce unique parmi les fragments de 4Q ».

(2) M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim : Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQ Monographs Series 8 ; Washington 1979), 266 : 4QpPs^b (4Q173) Fragment 5 ; *idem*, « House of Stumbling Fragment (4Q173a = 4Q173 frg. 5 olim) », *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Volume 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. by J.H. Charlesworth et alii (Tübingen – Louisville, 2002), 363-65. Toutefois, le fragment n'est pas distingué dans *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, by E. Tov et alii (DJD XXXIX ; Oxford, 2002), 170.

(3) F. García Martínez – E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Volume One 1Q1-4Q273 (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997), 350-51, « 4Q173a (= 4Q173 frag. 5).

(4) D. Hamidović, « Le retour au temple de Jérusalem (4Q173a olim 4Q173 5) ? », *RevQ* 94 (2009), 283-86.

Traduction

- 1 ... (ils) ont négligé [la/Sa] propr[i]été[...]
- 2 ...]les[]s /la maison(?) du scandale [...]
- 3 ...sur les cor]nes de l'autel, et [le] sa[ng de/[ils ont]of[/fert...
- 4 ...c'est] la porte **de Dieu** [par où entrent] les juste[s...]
- 5 ...]les[] nommément [dé]signés, et gravé[est...]
- 6 ...qu'Il a donné en héri]tage à Jacob[...]

Notes de lecture

– Ligne 1 : Horgan retient la lecture d'Allegro]brw m^{oo}[, sans le *circellus* sur le *mem* (5), et Hamidović propose y]brw m^l[(6). Si la lecture]brw paraît assurée (*kaf* et *pe* sont exclus), il serait peut-être possible de voir des traces de 'aïn dans le coude du *bet*, (légers restes de l'oblique de la lettre touchant la partie droite qui dépasse du coude du *bet*), en revanche une lecture m^{oo}[ou m^l[ensuite est totalement impossible. Les restes ne peuvent même pas convenir à un *šin* ou à un *tet* dans cette écriture, mais uniquement à un *samek*. Ensuite un 'aïn est exclu par sa proximité du *samek* et à plus forte raison d'un *mem*. La seule lettre possible est *gimel*. Un peu plus loin, une légère trace oblique, tracée à gauche et haute sous la ligne ne peut être que celle de *lamed*, mais excluant une séquence 'aïn-*lamed*. L'espace doit être complété par *waw* dont le bas de l'haste pourrait toucher ou être confondu avec l'extrémité de l'oblique du *gimel*. Le bord de la cassure pourrait porter des traces d'encre, dans ce cas *he* ou *taw* de l'état construit (substantif sans article). La lecture obtenue est donc au minimum]brw sg[w]l[, certain, ou tout au plus]'brw sgwlh/t[w, vraisemblable (7). Le verbe peut être au parfait ou moins vraisemblablement à l'imparfait, y]brw.

Faute de contexte, le sens de la séquence n'est pas clair, voir *Ex* 19,5 *sgwlh mkl h'mym* « une propriété/possession/trésor parmi tous les peuples », *Dt* 7,6 = 14,2 *l'm sgwlh mkl h'mym* et *4Q299* 60 3, *Ml* 3,17 *sgwlh* en parlant des justes craignant Dieu, *Ps* 135,4 *lsgwltw* en parlant de Jacob et d'Israël, voir aussi *4Q381* 76-77 5, « un trésor (en argent et or) » en *1 Ch* 29,3 et *Qo* 2,8. À la forme simple, le verbe peut signifier « négliger, transgresser, échanger (de l'argent) » (8).

– Ligne 2 : Tous les auteurs s'accordent à lire]byt mkšwl[, parfois avec un *circellus* sur *bet*. Si on devait tenir compte des différences dans le tracé des *waw* et des *yod* dans ce fragment, une lecture

(5) Horgan, *op. cit.* 1979, respectivement p. 61 et 266, ajoutant que la première trace peut aussi être lue *kaf* ou *pe* et la deuxième *dalet* aussi bien que *reš*.

(6) Hamidović, *cit.*, proposant une allusion à *Za* 3,4 ou à *Jr* 11,15.

(7) Voir la Planche de *DJD* V. Toutefois les reproductions PAM 41.515, 41.817 et 43.440 ne sont pas favorables, semble-t-il, à ces restes de *waw* et de *taw-he*.

(8) Pour une forme *hif'il*, on attendrait un *yod* dans cette orthographe, d'où la difficulté pour le sens « enlever ».

waw serait préférable à *yod* pour lire]*bwt*, et dans ce cas les possibilités de restauration sont multiples, par exemple ʕ] *bwt mkšwl* « les ido]les/blessu]res du scandale », voir *Ps* 16,4 dans un psaume où *Yhwh* est aussi dit la part d'héritage de l'orant et le garant de son lot. Sans doute, *Is* 8,14 écrivait-il : « Il (= *Yhwh*) a été un sanctuaire (9) et une pierre d'achoppement et un rocher écueil pour les deux maisons d'Israël, un piège et une trappe pour les habitants de Jérusalem ». L'éditeur y voyait une référence à la *byt yhwh* de *Ps* 118,2 en faveur d'un *peshet* de *Psaumes*.

– Ligne 3 : L'éditeur a lu ʿ*d qrn*] *wt hmzbh yb*ʿ*w* (10), tandis que Horgan en est resté à]ʿ*t hmzbh y*°. Toutefois, la finale peut être lue aussi bien, sinon mieux, *waw* et les traces à la cassure sont celles de *he* ou de *dalet* et non de *bet* ou *taw* (11). La première partie pourrait être la reprise de *Ps* 118,27c, mais voir aussi la séquence en *11QRT* XVI 16 *wytn mdmw bʿšbʿw ʿl qrnwt h[mzbh*. Pourrait-on lire ensuite *wh[qryb(w)* « et [il(s)] a/ont [offert/apporté », ou une expression synonyme visant une offrande à l'autel ?, voir *Lv* 1,5; 4,14; 10,19, *Nb* 17,4, *Esd* 8,35, *4Q367* 1a-b 10, *11QRT* XX 9 (12), etc., ou encore lire *wd[m(w)* « et (son) sa[ng/du sa[ng de... » ?

– Ligne 4 : L'éditeur a lu *zh*] *hšʿr lʿl šdy[qym ybʿw bw*, avec un *circellus* sur *yod* (13). Mais Horgan proposait plus simplement *šdyq[ym ybʿw b* (14). Si le reste de la courte haste convient parfaitement à *yod*, il n'est pas possible de lire *qof* ensuite, la tête du *yod* et celle du *qof* exigent un espace plus conséquent pour pouvoir lire des restes d'une hampe de lettre avant la cassure (15). Citation de *Ps* 118,20 où le mot *lʿl*, substitut du tétragramme, est écrit en lettres cryptiques A pour *alef* mais *lamed* dans une autre forme.

– Ligne 5 : L'éditeur a lu *mr*] *hyby šmw t whryb[wt*(16). Hamidović offre ici une lecture divergente : *n]qwby šmw t whrwt[ym* préférable à]*qwby*. Avec raison il ne retient pas la lecture *het*, ce à quoi s'opposent clairement les tracés des deux *het* du fragment, le tracé conservé pourrait convenir à *samek* ou mieux à *qof*. Dans la

(9) Comparer *Ez* 11,16, au sens de refuge sacré pour l'exilé.

(10) Suivi par García Martínez – Tigchelaar, *op. cit.*, 350, excepté pour la finale *y*°, de même Hamidović, *cit.*, qui ne retient pas la préposition restaurée.

(11) Hamidović, *cit.*, accepte la lecture *yod*, ou *waw-yod*.

(12) Lecture de Yadin, *The Temple Scroll, Three Volumes and Supplement* (Jerusalem, 1983), mais avec E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva – Jerusalem, 1996), 31, lire *wtqrh*.

(13) Suivi par García Martínez – Tigchelaar, *op. cit.* 350.

(14) Suivie par Hamidović, *cit.*, complétant *bw*.

(15) Les reproductions PAM 41.515, 41.817 et 43.440 montrent des traces noires au-dessus du *dalet* mais rien à la cassure après *yod* pour lire une hampe de *qof*.

(16) Avec un point sur le premier *het* et un *circellus* sur *bet*, suivi par García Martínez – Tigchelaar, *op. cit.*, 350. Horgan, *op. cit.*, 61 et *cit.*, 364 respectivement, ne restaure aucun mot et ne lit pas le *bet*, et lit]*hyby*, mais traduit, p. 266,]desolate places *whry*], avec *he* p. 364.

Bible est bien connue l'expression *nqbw bšmw* « sont désignés par les noms = sont nominativement désignés ». La construction a ici le même sens. Le participe coordonné pourrait être lu *whrwt*[y(m) « et gravé[s] », voir *Ex* 32,16 (17). Mais avec le début d'une autre proposition, une simple lecture *whrwt* est tout aussi possible et préférable « et (est) gravé[] », faisant alors allusion à un décret ou autre à l'origine de la liste nominative en question.

– Ligne 6 : La lecture ne fait aucune difficulté. On peut proposer de compléter par le verbe *nhl* qui se construit aussi avec *lamed*, voir *Nb* 34,17, *I Ch* 28,8, *IQS* IV 15 et 26, *4Q159* 1 ii 1, *4Q417* 1 i 16 ; comprendre par exemple *h'rš 'šr (h)nḥ(y)ll ly'qwb* « le pays qu'Il a donné en héritage à Jacob », cette lecture serait assez bien en ligne avec le contenu de la ligne 1, la possession/propriété divine de par l'élection. Voir *Ps* 135,12 pour l'héritage et vv 19-20, pour la Maison de Jacob, d'Israël et de Lévi, ceux qui craignent Dieu, dans un Psaume qui s'adresse à des officiants dans le temple et ses parvis, vv 1-2, et qui désigne aussi le choix de Jacob et d'Israël comme « Sa *sgwlh* », voir *4Q173a* 1 1. Le nom pouvait encore être suivi de [*'bdw* « son serviteur » comme en *Ba* 3,37, voir aussi *Is* 44,1-2.

Le fragment semble contenir une série de reproches faits aux prêtres – lévites qui ont été infidèles à leurs devoirs ou négligeants dans leur service au temple : en particulier des critiques au sujet des sacrifices et des rangs de chacun des officiants. Israël-Jacob est la part choisie (*sgwlh*) par Dieu au milieu des peuples et il doit être fidèle aux prescriptions divines dans le culte tout particulièrement. Les prêtres doivent donner l'exemple comme gardiens et interprètes de la Loi, eux qui ont la charge de guider les hommes dans la voie de justice. Tel semble être le contenu principal de ce fragment isolé. Il n'est pas question d'un retour au temple de Jérusalem, ni a fortiori d'un *peshet* – *Commentaire* de Psaumes, ainsi que le notait déjà J. Strugnell.

Émile PUECH

(17) Hamidović, *cit.*, mais on ne voit pas comment les « nommément désignés » pourraient être gravés ! Ce sont leurs noms qui devraient être gravés, et dans ce cas la formulation devrait être différente.

POSTURE OR GESTURE? A NOTE ON לשה/לשוה IN THE QUMRAN PENAL CODES

IN THE penal codes of the Qumran Rule Scrolls we find the following statute, best preserved in *IQS* 7:15: והמוציא את יד שמאולו לשה בה ווענש עשרת ימים. Before the publication of the Cave 4 mss., it was possible to speculate that the verb לשה should be emended to a form of the Biblical verb שיה found commonly in Rabbinic Hebrew, סוח, “to converse.” But the reading in *IQS* is confirmed by all extant versions of the statute: traces of לשה are visible on the damaged lower edge of *4QS^e* (*4Q259* 1 i 15), and לשה appears clearly in *4QD^e* (*4Q270* 7 i 5) and, most likely, *4QD^a* (*4Q266* 10 ii 14, reconstructed). What does the statute prohibit, sending forth the left hand “to talk with it” or more idiomatically, “to gesture in conversation with it,” or sending forth the left hand “to crouch down with it,” or more idiomatically, “to recline on it”? Both readings have good pedigrees: A. van der Ploeg argued for the former in 1951 and has been followed more recently by Geza Vermes and Joseph Baumgarten. (1) In his 1955 philological commentary on *IQS*, P. Wernberg-Møller argued against van der Ploeg, in favor of reading “to recline,” which James Charlesworth prefers. (2)

Both readings also present difficulties. If the verbal root is שיה, we would expect the infinitive לשיה, not לשה, as in the *Community Rule* mss. (3) The infinitive form לשה is even more difficult to recon-

(1) See J. Van der Ploeg, “Quelques traductions du ‘Manuel de Discipline’ des rouleaux de la Mer Morte,” *BibOr* 8 (1951): 127-33. So also G. Vermes in Vermes and P. Alexander, eds., *DJD* 26.137, 139; J. Baumgarten, *DJD* 18.163; cp. p. 75. Baumgarten gives no philological argument for his reading. F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar omit the reference to speaking at all and translate simply, “gesticulates with it” (*DSSSE* 1.87).

(2) P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955), 118. So also J. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSS 1; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1995), 33.

(3) Admittedly the *Community Rule* mss. may have this reading: in *IQS* *yod*

cile with the hollow root. Further, while the verb שׁיח regularly construes with the preposition ב, in Biblical Hebrew the ב phrase invariably designates a direct object. (4) In the penal code clause, לשׁוּח בה, בה is an instrumental indirect object, not a direct object.

The linguistic problems affecting שׁיח do not affect שׁחח: the form found in the *Damascus Rule*, לִשְׁח, is a regular *qal* infinitive construct of the geminate verb, while the form found in the *Community Rule*, לִשְׁוּח, is an unproblematic plene spelling. Two other objections are raised: first, שׁחח is not attested as a neutral designation for the act of lying down or reclining: we expect סִבֵּב, which is ubiquitous in the Rabbinic literature. (5) Second and most importantly in the scholarship, שׁיח is preferred to שׁחח because the prohibition against using the left hand to gesture seems rather neatly to correspond to Philo's description of the Therapeutae, the Egyptian sect that seems closely related to Essenes of Judea. Philo writes that in meetings the Therapeutae

καθέζονται μετὰ τοῦ πρόποντος σχήματος, εἴσω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν μεταξὺ στέρνοος καὶ γενείου, τὴν δὲ ἐδῶν-
μον ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ λαγόνι. (*Vita Cont.* 30-31)

Seated thus, members respond to a speaker's words with subtle gestures: a nod or glance indicates understanding; a cheerful expression and slight turn of the face indicate approval; and a subtler movement of the head and motion with the fingertip of the right hand indicate perplexity (*Vita Cont.* 77). In their comments on Philo's text, Vermes and Goodman claim that *IQS* 7:15 contains "a prohibition on using the left hand" to express perplexity, a claim that is not altogether correct: even if the verb is שׁיח, the prohibition is on using the left hand while speaking, not in lieu of a vocalized expression. (6)

and *waw* are virtually indistinguishable; in *4QS^c*, where *yod* and *waw* are written distinctively, the lower half of the letters are missing.

(4) In biblical Hebrew direct objects of שׁיח are always preceded by ב: *1 Chr* 16:9; *Psalms* 69:13; 105:2; 119:23, 27, 48, 78, 148; 142:5. Once a ב phrase is used adverbially, in *Job* 7:11: נֹאשִׁיחָהּ בַּמֶּר נַפְשִׁי, "I will complain in the bitterness of my soul." This clause is an unusual poetic construction, formed to parallel the immediately preceding clause, אֲדַבְרָהּ בְּצַר רוּחִי, "I will speak in the anguish of my spirit." In rabbinic Hebrew the more common form of the verb is סוּח. Prepositional prefixes mark its objects infrequently.

(5) *Contra* Wernberg-Møller (*Manual*, 118 n. 34) שׁחח does not mean "to lie down" in *Ben Sira* 43:10. The text reads וְלֹא יִשָּׁח בְּאַשְׁמֵרוֹתָם, "and he does not let down his guard." I do not find any instance of שׁחח being used neutrally to designate the act of reclining or lying down.

(6) G. Vermes and M. Goodman, eds., *The Essenes according to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 94 n.26. Similarly, in his commentary on the text of *IQS* 7:15 Michael Knibb cites Philo's description of the Therapeutae to justify reading לשׁוּח as an infinitive of שׁיח. See idem, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 127. Interestingly A. R. C. Leaneay reads שׁחח but cites Philo on the Therapeutae to explain aversion to use of the left

The appeal of reading לשח/לשור as an infinitive of שיח stems directly from the Essene hypothesis. Scholars are inclined to find correspondences between the statutes in the Rule Scrolls and descriptions of the way of life of the Essenes and Therapeutae. But, as has become a commonplace in the literature, it is better to begin with interpretation of the Covenanters' texts independently, and then to begin the comparative work. In the case of the statute in *IQS* 7:15, it turns out that the better reading is "to recline," as I argue below. Nevertheless I conclude that my reading of the passage retains a strong connection with Philo's description of the Therapeutae.

There are four strong reasons to read לשח/לשור as an infinitive of שחח. The first is linguistic and has already been noted above: the forms look like regular and plene *qal* infinitive constructs of the geminate verb. The second reason is the literary context of the statute. It comes at the end of a block of statutes that seem aimed at safeguarding the solemnity of nightly assemblies of the Many (*IQS* 7:9b-18a). The statutes fall into three categories: improper speech (7:9a-10a); (7) improper and disruptive behavior (7:10b-15b); and, perhaps, defiance of the results of juridical proceedings (7:15c-18a). (8) Our statute concludes the block of nine rules on improper and disruptive behavior. The rules appear in the same order in all extant versions of the penal code:

- 1) lying down and sleeping at a session of the Many (*IQS* 7:10b)
- 2) leaving a session without permission (7:10c-11a)
- 3) leaving a session three times (7:11b)
- 4) leaving a session while the Many are standing (7:11c-12a)
- 5) attending insufficiently clad (7:12c)
- 6) spitting (7:13a)
- 7) allowing one's penis (יד) to show through one's garments (7:13b-14a)
- 8) audible laughter (7:14b-15a)
- 9) stretching out one's left hand (יד שמאיל) to recline upon it (7:15b)

The rules on proper decorum at a session of the Many open with a prohibition against sleeping. Rule (1) is also a statement on posture: a man may not lie down (שכב). The phrasing of the rule supports the

hand: idem, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 198, 207.

(7) These statutes prohibit foolish speech and interrupting a fellow member.

(8) The statutes in the last section prevent two forms of abusive speech, slander-ing and murmuring, against two parties: a fellow member, and the Many. Slander or murmuring against a fellow member is met with a punishment of limited duration; slander or murmuring against the Many, with permanent expulsion. If the rules pertain to juridical sessions of the Many, then they may address a member convicted of a transgression who speaks against his accuser (a fellow member), or against the decision of the court (the Many).

idea that sessions of the Many, which consumed a third of the night (*IQS* 6:7), or about four hours, were long enough to induce drowsiness. Sitting erect prevents falling asleep. Rules (2), (3), and (4) indicate that the meetings were tightly structured: men could not exit the proceedings without permission, nor with permission more than twice. Nor could they leave during whatever solemn activity occurred when the Many stood to their feet. (9) Rules (5)-(8) further underscore the solemnity of the assembly: members were required to attend assemblies in appropriately modest attire and to guard against immodest exposure, signs of disrespect (spitting), and levity.

Our statute is the final rule in this block and may form a sort of literary *inclusio*: the first several rules prohibit sleeping; the last, against another kind of posture—reclining—that might lead to sleeping. But the purpose of the statute seems less aimed at supplementing the earlier rules on staying awake, and more at defining the posture appropriate to the solemnity of the proceedings. To stretch one's left hand out and recline upon the left side is to assume the posture appropriate to a formal symposium or banquet. The practice of reclining at social meetings is well known not only in Greek and Roman contexts, but also in Rabbinic literature. (10) The purpose of assemblies of the Many was not to share food and drink, (11) but to carry out scholastic, juridical, and liturgical tasks, as *IQS* 6:7 b-8a states: *והרבים ישקודו ביחד ... לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט ולברך ביחד*. After this statement of purpose comes a description of the assembled

(9) The practice of standing during a particular point in the meeting could refer to a liturgical practice, or to the practice of voting while standing, as happened in Roman voting assemblies. For discussion of the Roman habit of standing to vote see Lily Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1966), 28-33. Cicero contrasts the Roman practice of standing with the Greek practice of sitting in *Pro Flacco* 15-17.

(10) E.g., *m. Ber.* 6.6 distinguishes between informal meals, at which people sit to eat (*היו יושבין לאכל*), and formal meals at which they recline (*הסיבו*). When one sits to eat, he says a blessing himself; when a group reclines formally a leader says a blessing and the rest repeat *אמן* together afterward. *T. Ber.* 4.8 details a formal banquet: guests eat the first course and drink the first serving of wine sitting on benches or chairs (*יושבין על ספסלים ועל קתדראות*). After these courses they rise from their seats and recline for the main course (*עלו והסבו*).

(11) *Contra* the assertions of some scholars, that sessions of the Many included banquets: Wernberg-Møller, *Manual*, 118 n. 34; more recently Matthias Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline in Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*, ed. M. Wise et al. (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: Academy of Sciences, 1994), 261. With Lawrence Schiffman I conclude that the practices of communal dining, liturgy, and deliberation (*IQS* 6:2-3) took place in distinctive settings. Of course communal prayer played a role in any gathering, but some gatherings were for the primary purpose of worship; others, for commensality; still others for scriptural study and rendering judgment. It is reasonable to take the term *שולחן* as a designation for the type of meeting at which members took food (*IQS* 6:4; *שולחן היחד* in *IQSa* 2:17). For Schiffman's discussion see idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brown Judaic Studies 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 191-92.

members: **יִשְׁבוּ לַרְשׁוֹנָה וְהַזְקִינִים בְּשִׁנִּית וְשָׂאֵר כּוֹל הָעָם יִשְׁבוּ אִישׁ בְּתַדּוּנּוֹ**. Twice the verb **יִשֵּׁב** appears, and I suggest we take it literally: at sessions of the Many members sat upright; they did not recline. To recline was to affect a posture suited for dining, not for communal deliberation and prayer.

This interpretation is supported by two other passages on meetings. The first, *IQS* 6:3-6, describes two kinds of activities. The first lines describe a deliberative meeting and mention posture: at a meeting of ten or more members of the *yahad*, a priest takes his place at the head of the group. Then **אִישׁ כָּתְבוּנּוֹ יִשְׁבוּ לִפְנָיו** (6:4b), and the deliberations begin. Immediately after comes a description of a meal, with no mention of posture: “and thus shall it be whenever the table is prepared to eat or to drink new wine” (**כִּי־אָהִיָּה יַעֲרוּכּוּ הַשּׁוֹלְחָן**) (לאכול או התירוש לשתות (6:4c-5). Quite possibly the mention of sitting in 6:4b distinguishes posture at a deliberative meeting from posture at a meal, where it was assumed that members would recline in the customary way. Similarly in *IQSa* 2:16 all the leaders of Israel sit (**יִשְׁבוּ**) before the Messiah of Israel at the appointed time for assembly (**מוֹעֵד**, 2:13). But when the meal with the Messiah is described, there is no reference to posture: the text has no verb, but describes their gathering as one “for a table of the *yahad*” (**לְשׁוֹלְחָן יָחַד יִיעָדוּ**) where they “arrange” (**עֲרוּךְ**) the meal (2:17). (12) Quite possibly reclining posture at meals is assumed. In Rabbinic literature, after all, we find explicit distinctions between posture at meals and posture at juridical assemblies: while one may sit (**יִשֵּׁב**) or recline (**סָבַב**) at a meal, (13) one sits (**יִשֵּׁב**) or stands (**עָמַד**) to hear and render judgment. (14)

At least two questions remain: Why is reclining on the left hand prohibited specifically, and not the right? And again, why does the text not use the simpler verb **סָבַב** to designate reclining? Certainty eludes us on both points. Regarding the second question, the verb **שָׁחָה** may to have pejorative force as it is used in the penal code: one who reclines assumes the posture of a crouching or enfeebled person, or one who has slackened his guard. The first question seems simpler to answer. First, the conventional posture for dining was to lie upon

(12) A final possibility remains: all communal activities of the *yahad* were done either seated or standing, and members were forbidden to recline even at meals. Schiffman argues that the *yahad* affected a seated dining posture in order to distinguish themselves from their Greek and Roman counterparts, and from Jews who reclined at meals after the pagan fashion. His argument accounts for the absence of a verb describing posture in the statements on eating. Nevertheless, it is hardly implausible that the sectarians ate in a reclining position. See Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1977), 56.

(13) See *m. Ber.* 6.6 and *t. Ber.* 4.8, discussed above, n. 10.

(14) On the seating (**יִשֵּׁב**) of the court, see *m. San.* 4.4; cp. 11.2. The scribes present at the hearing stand (*m. San.* 4.3). On reclining (**סָבַב**) for meals, even sacral ones, such as at a funeral at which a high priest is present, or in the presence of the king, see *m. San.* 2.1, 3, 4.

one's left side. If one wished to prohibit reclining as at a symposium, mentioning the left side would make the rule quite clear. Second, the word **יד** is used euphemistically for "penis" in a closely preceding statute (*IQS* 7:13). Attaching the adjective **שמאול** to the noun eliminates any possibility of misunderstanding. (15)

Posture and Gesture at the Assemblies of the Therapeutae

Scholars have identified one parallel between Philo's description of the Therapeutae and the Qumran penal codes: both mention the left hand. But another parallel has been neglected: Philo emphasizes that at deliberative sessions the Therapeutae *sit*, and do so with the utmost solemnity and composure (*καθέζονται μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος*). With the left hand tucked under the thigh and the right positioned under the chin, sitting erect, they are poised and self-controlled, disciplined and attentive. Although Philo indicates that Therapeutae gesture with the fingertip of the right hand, his point is not that gesturing with the left hand is *gauche*, (16) but that the meetings are incredibly solemn, and all participants are self-controlled and attentive. All a member must do to indicate his perplexity is make a single movement of one fingertip and a slight motion of the head. They absolutely do not recline: to do so would defy the decorum for deliberative meetings.

Yet the Therapeutae do, in fact, recline at banquets, as Philo explicitly describes. Banquets begin with a prayer, which the Therapeutae recite while standing, and after which they recline (*κατακλίνεσθαι*) on modest couches. (17) However, when they convene for deliberative sessions, they assume a posture conducive to attentiveness and decorous to the occasion. I conclude with a plausible set of speculations: were the Therapeutae an actual association, and had they drafted a set of bylaws, should these bylaws be discovered, we should expect to find in them a prohibition against symposiastic reclining during deliberative assemblies, analogous to the statute in the Qumran penal codes. (18)

Yonder Moynihan GILLIHAN

(15) So also Charlesworth, *PTSDSS*, 1.33 n. 188.

(16) The assumption that the left side is inferior to the right, and a taboo against using the left hand, probably underlie the practice; nevertheless the taboo is not the point of Philo's description. Instead he is more interested in the solemnity of the meetings.

(17) Philo uses the verb *κατακλίνομαι* to describe the Therapeutae at meals in *Vit. Cont.* 67, and in 69 he uses the noun *κατάκλισις* to describe their eating posture.

(18) In his description of the Essenes' practice Josephus uses the verbs *καθίζεσθαι* and *συγκαθίζεσθαι* to designate posture at the table (*BJ* 2.130, 132). But the verb can be used to designate the regular practice of reclining, as in Xenophon, *Cryopedia* 8.4.2. Note, however, that Plato distinguishes between sitting and reclining (*καθίζεσθαι* ἢ *κατακλινῆναι*) in *Phaedrus* 229b.

RECENSIONS

Le Temps et les Temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère, édité par CHRISTIAN GRAPPE et JEAN-CLAUDE INGELAERE, (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, 112; Leiden · Boston: Brill, 2006), viii + 294 pp. Relié. € 115. ISBN 90 04 15058 7. ISSN 1384-2161.

Cet ouvrage rassemble treize contributions présentant les résultats d'un projet quadriennal (2001–2004) mené par trois équipes réunies au sein du Groupe de Recherche « Littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère » (GDR 2320). Le volume est organisé en deux sections: la première concerne la mesure du temps calendaire et liturgique tandis que la seconde s'intéresse à l'organisation prédéterminée des temps.

Dans la première contribution, Lucien-Jean Bord (« *L'adoption du calendrier babylonien au moment de l'Exil* », 21–36) retrace l'histoire de l'utilisation des différents systèmes calendaires dans l'Israël biblique. Il montre leur probable coexistence et suppose la présence d'un double calendrier dès l'époque préexilique à l'exemple du système calendaire d'Emar : l'un civil avec un Nouvel An à l'automne et l'autre cultuel avec un Nouvel An au printemps. Ce double système serait à l'origine du double comput de l'époque post-exilique : l'un lunaire et cultuel, l'autre solaire et civil.

Jean-Claude Dubs (« *4Q317 et le rôle de l'observation de la Pleine Lune pour la détermination du temps à Qoumrân* », 37–54) s'intéresse au texte calendaire 4Q317. Il montre que les données relatives aux degrés de clarté de la lune ne sont pas nécessairement dominées par un schématisme des nombres sacrés, mais plutôt par une observation précise et effective de la lune. Il constate que dans les fragments trois, quatre et cinq, le scribe a laissé entre certaines lignes un intervalle suffisant permettant d'ajouter des corrections interlinéaires menant ainsi la durée du mois lunaire à 29 jours plutôt que 28. Ce manuscrit témoignerait ainsi d'un examen attentif de la lune par son auteur dans le but d'établir un calendrier sacerdotal « parfait » (cf. p. 47).

Francis Schmitt (« *Le calendrier liturgique des prières quotidiennes (4Q503). En Annexe : l'apport du verso (4Q512) à l'édition de 4Q503* », 55–88) analyse les *Prières quotidiennes* de 4Q503. En comparant ce texte avec la liturgie synagogale, il constate que les deux rituels remontent à une même tradition qui trouverait son origine dans la liturgie du Temple. Il en

conclut que 4Q503 n'a pas été composé au sein de la communauté. Néanmoins, comme l'atteste Flavius Josèphe (*Guerre Juive*, II, 128) et 1QS X 1–3.10, F. Schmitt constate que 4Q503 a été utilisé par la Communauté en adaptant le texte. De fait, le mois de 30 jours de 4Q503 peut à la fois être un mois solaire et lunaire; il serait le premier mois de la première année d'un cycle triennal durant lequel les jours du mois lunaire et ceux du mois solaire seraient synchronisés. Enfin, en annexe, F. Schmitt propose une précise réorganisation des fragments de 4Q503 et en améliore ainsi l'édition.

Après avoir rappelé que la réforme du calendrier par les esséniens a derrière elle une longue tradition de multiples réformes, Alfred Marx (« *Les fêtes du Vin nouveau et de l'Huile fraîche dans le Rouleau du Temple. Fêtes des prémices ou anticipations du repas eschatologique ?* », 89–106) s'intéresse au sens de trois nouvelles fêtes agricoles introduites dans le *Rouleau du Temple* : la fête du vin nouveau (11QT XIX 11–XXI 10 ; XLIII 3.8–9), de l'huile fraîche (11QT XXI 12–XXIII 1 ; XLIII 3–4.9–10) et de l'offrande du bois (11QT XXIII 2–XXV 1 ; XLIII 4).

Jean Riaud (« *Pâque et Sabbat dans les Fragments I et V d'Aristobule* », 107–125) étudie les descriptions de la Pâque et du Sabbat dans les fragments I et V d'Aristobule. Il montre que ce dernier adapte la description de ces fêtes pour mettre en valeur leur dimension universelle et cosmique estompant ainsi leur dimension nationale et identitaire. Aussi, la Pâque n'est plus désignée par le mot *πάσχα*, mais par le terme *τὰ διαβατήρια*. Aristobule ne fait plus allusion à la sortie d'Égypte pour expliquer le sens de la fête, mais à la dimension cosmique du passage du soleil et de la lune à l'équinoxe de printemps. De même, le Sabbat est mis en relation avec le repos universel de la création passant sous silence les références à l'esclavage en Égypte ou à l'Exode.

Christophe Batsch (« *Temps de la guerre et respect du Sabbat dans Judith* », 125–136) analyse les données chronologiques du récit de siège du livre de Judith. Il montre que les descriptions chronologiques précises du déroulement articulent l'ensemble des événements en fonction du jour du sabbat. L'auteur de Judith réaffirmerait par là, en polémique avec 1 M 2,41, l'interdiction halakhique de combattre durant le sabbat.

David Hamidović (« Les répartitions des temps, *titre du Livre des Jubilés dans les manuscrits de Qumrân* », 137–146) étudie le sens du terme *מחלקות* dans le titre du livre des *Jubilés* : « Les répartitions des temps pour la loi et pour le témoignage ». Après avoir examiné les occurrences du vocable dans l'Ancien Testament, il considère ses emplois à Qumrân. Il en repère douze (treize, p. 137) : cinq reprennent l'emploi traditionnel du terme désignant la division des sabbats, les sept suivantes seraient des citations du titre du livre des *Jubilés*. Sur ces sept dernières références seules 4Q216 I 11–12 (et 4Q217 2 1, non mentionné par D. Hamidović) et CD XVI 3–4 (// 4Q270 6 ii 17 // 4Q271 4 ii 4–5) sont convaincantes. Les attestations du terme en 4Q228 peuvent difficilement, selon nous, être interprétées comme une citation du titre du livre des *Jubilés*. En effet, la variation du pluriel au singulier et des pronoms suffixes rend difficile un tel rapprochement : « [dans] le[s] répa[r]ti[tions] des temps » (4Q228 1 i 1) ; « selon la répartition de son (masc.) temps » (4Q228 1 i 4) ; « dans la répartition de son (fém.) temps » (4Q228 1 i 7). Enfin, d'autres attestations du terme *מחלקת* auraient pu être mentionnées pour compléter le dossier : 4Q317 1+1a ii 11 ; 2 30 ; 4 33 ; 9 13 au singulier et deux fois au pluriel en 4Q372 3 6 et en 11QT XV 5.

Devorah Dimant (« *Temps, Torah et Prophétie à Qoumrân* », 147–168) examine la relation entre interprétation de la Torah et des prophètes et division du temps en différentes périodes, chaque période acceptant une interprétation qui lui est propre.

Christian Grappe (« *Jésus, le Temps et les temps. À la lumière de son intervention au Temple* », 169–182) éclaire les récits de l'intervention de Jésus au Temple à la lumière de *Za* 14 et montre que l'évènement a probablement eu lieu le jour de la fête des Tentés. Dès lors, il conclut : « Jésus, en s'en prenant à ceux qui exerçaient une fonction de médiation indispensable en vue de la célébration du culte, n'aurait pas tant voulu protester contre leur présence qu'attester une autre présence, celle du Royaume de Dieu dont l'irruption eschatologique rend vaine la médiation sacrificielle » (180).

Jean-Claude Ingelaere (« *Le temps dans l'Évangile de Matthieu* », 183–198) s'intéresse à la question du temps dans l'évangile de Matthieu. Il s'interroge sur l'articulation entre une représentation linéaire du temps, passé d'Israël, ministère de Jésus, mission universelle des disciples, et une conception non linéaire « où le passé de Jésus reflète le présent des croyants » (183). J.-C. Ingelaere montre d'une part que la conception linéaire du temps est à comprendre en termes de continuité et d'accomplissement : le ministère de Jésus est enraciné dans l'histoire d'Israël et inaugure le temps eschatologique et la mission universelle des disciples. D'autre part, il montre que le temps eschatologique recouvre et concentre la totalité de l'histoire du salut.

Marc Philonenko (« *Celui qui est, qui était et qui vient* (Apocalypse de Jean 1,4) », 199–208) dresse un inventaire des formules parallèles à la formule tripartite d'Ap 1,4 « celui qui est, qui était, et qui vient » (cf. Ap 1,4.8 ; 4,8 ; 11,17 ; 16,5). Il évoque le texte d'Ex 3,14, la littérature hellénistique, orientale et plus précisément iranienne, Philon d'Alexandrie, IQS III 15, IV Esdras 7,136, II Baruch 21,9, Hékhalel 129. Il attire surtout l'attention sur Judith 9,5, II Baruch 83,9, Memar Marqah 1,1–2 et les Liturgies mandéennes qui emploient, comme en Ap 1,4, le verbe « venir ». Il conclut que c'est probablement à partir de l'Iran que la formule tripartite a exercé son influence sur le judaïsme, philonien d'abord, puis essénien ensuite. Il y a certainement lieu de poursuivre la discussion. En effet, n'est-il pas plausible qu'une conception tripartite du temps puisse émerger en divers lieux sans qu'il y ait nécessairement une dépendance directe ? Pourquoi considérer que l'influence iranienne sur Philon d'Alexandrie précède celle du mouvement essénien et non l'inverse ? Enfin, il serait peut-être intéressant de rajouter au vaste dossier dressé par Marc Philonenko la formule de 4Q418 43–44–45 2–3 (// 4Q417 1 3–5) : ... וְהָיָה בְּרִיזָה מְעֻשִׁי קֹדֶם לְמָה נְהִיָּה וּמָה נְהִיָּה בְּמִן הָנְהִיָּה [וְהָיָה לְמָה הִיָּה וּלְמָה נְהִיָּה בְּמָה] [וְהָיָה]

Christophe Mézange (« *Josèphe et la fin des temps* », 209–230) s'intéresse à la question du messianisme et de la fin des temps à partir de la description de la guerre des Juifs contre Rome de 66 à 74 dans l'œuvre de Flavius Josèphe. Il montre que cette guerre fut unilatéralement interprétée comme « le rendez-vous unique de la fin des temps », mais de différentes façons. Par exemple, si pour certains cette herméneutique fut le moteur des hostilités, pour d'autres, comme les sicaires repliés à Masada, elle appela un regain de piété en vue de hâter l'intervention divine.

Enfin, en dernier lieu, Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl (« *Modèles du temps et de la fin des temps dans l'Apocalypse du Pseudo-Méthode* », 231–257) analyse les sources littéraires d'une apocalypse syriaque du VIIe siècle : l'Apoca-

lypse du Pseudo-Méthode. Il montre en particulier que ce dernier s'inspire de sources très anciennes comme le livre des *Jubilés* par exemple. L'ouvrage se conclut par un index des citations, un index des auteurs et un index thématique.

À travers ce volume, Christian Grappe et Jean-Claude Ingelaere nous offrent une collection de contributions de haut niveau donnant ainsi au lecteur un vaste panorama des différentes questions relatives au Temps. Sont ainsi évoquées les questions de calendrier, de fêtes liturgiques, de périodisation de l'histoire, mais également des questions relatives à l'eschatologie et aux fins dernières. L'ouvrage met en valeur le caractère fondamental que revêtent les préoccupations relatives à l'organisation du déroulement du temps, préoccupations liturgiques, mais également historiques et théologiques. En outre, on notera que la plupart des contributions sont accompagnées d'une précieuse bibliographie permettant d'approfondir telle ou telle question soulevée.

Jean-Sébastien REY

THE ORION CENTER BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS (July-December 2008)

by Ruth A. CLEMENTS and Nadav SHARON

- ADAMCZEWSKI, Bartosz. "'Ten Jubilees of Years': Heptadic Calculations of the End of the Epoch of Iniquity and the Evolving Ideology of the Hasmoneans." *Qumran Chronicle* 16/1–2 (2008) 19–36.
- ADAMS, Edward. *The Stars Will Fall from Heaven: Cosmic Catastrophe in the New Testament and Its World*. Library of New Testament Studies 347. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- ADAN-BAYEWITZ, David et al. "Preferential Distribution of Lamps from the Jerusalem Area in the Late Second Temple Period (Late First Century B.C.E.–70 C.E.)." *BASOR* 350 (2008) 37–85.
- ADLER, Yonatan. "בתי כנסת עתיקים ומקוואות טהרה: הממצא הארכאולוגי וזיקתו להלכה קדומה [The Ancient Synagogue and the Ritual Bath: The Archaeological Evidence and its Relevance to an Extinct Rabbinical Enactment Requiring Ablutions after Seminal Emission]." *Cathedra* 128 (2008) 51–72.
- ANDERSON, Kevin L. *"But God Raised Him from the Dead": The Theology of Jesus' Resurrection in Luke–Acts*. Paternoster Biblical Monographs. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006.
- ANGEL, Andrew. "From Wild Men to Wise and Wicked Women: An Investigation into Male Heterosexuality in Second Temple Interpretations of the Ladies Wisdom and Folly." In *A Question of Sex? Gender and Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond*, ed. Deborah W. Rooke, 145–161. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
- ARAV, Rami. "The Archaeology of Bethsaida and the Historical Jesus Quest." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity*. *Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, 317–331. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- ARCARI, Luca. "Il papiro gizeh: Un testimone della tradizione enochica greca e altri testi ad esso collegabili." *Bibbia e Oriente* 50/1 (2008) 3–77.

- ARNOLD, Russell C. D. "Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, 159–175. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- ATKINSON, Kenneth "The Salome No One Knows: Long-Time Ruler of a Prosperous and Peaceful Judea Mentioned in Dead Sea Scrolls." *BAR* 34/4 (2008) 60–65, 72.
- BAR-KOCHVA, Bezalel. "ירושלים וסביבותיה במונוגרפיה סלאוקית מראשית ימי המדינה החשמונאית [Jerusalem and Its Surroundings in a Seleucid Work from the Beginnings of the Hasmonean State]." *Cathedra* 128 (2008) 5–18.
- BARCLAY, John M. G. "Snarling Sweetly: Josephus on Images and Idolatry." In *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, 73–87. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- BARKER, Margaret. "Review: Philip S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 246–248.
- BATSCH, Christophe. "La littérature tannaitique comme source historique pour l'étude du judaïsme du deuxième temple: Les questions méthodologiques de Jacob Neusner et de Peter Schäfer." *REJ* 166/1–2 (2007) 1–15.
- BAUER, Johannes B. "Corpus suum tradere (Dan 3,28 [95]; 2Makk 7,37; 1Kor 13,3)." *NovT* 49/2 (2007) 149–151.
- BEDENBENDER, Andreas. "The Enochic and the Zadokite Approach to the Heavenly World." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 30–33.
- BEDENBENDER, Andreas. "The Place of the Torah in the Early Enoch Literature." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 65–79. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- BEENTJES, Pancratius C. "Ben Sira 44:19–23—The Patriarchs: Text, Tradition, Theology." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 209–228. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- BEN-DOV, Jonathan. *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context*. STDJ 78. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- BEN-DOV, Jonathan, and Stéphane SAULNIER. "Qumran Calendars: A Survey of Scholarship 1980–2007." *Currents in Biblical Research* 7/1 (2008) 124–168.
- BEN SHALOM, Menachem. *חסידות וחסידיים בתקופת בית שני ובתקופת המשנה [Hassidut and Hassidim in the Second Temple Period and in the Mishnah Period]*. Tel-Aviv: Hakkibutz Hameuhad, 2008.
- BERG, Shane A. "An Elite Group within the *Yahad*: Revisiting 1QS 8–9." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 161–177. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- BERGMANN, Claudia D. *Childbirth as a Metaphor for Crisis: Evidence from the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH XI, 1–18*. BZAW 382. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.

- BERGMANN, Claudia D. "Idol Worship in Bel and the Dragon and Other Jewish Literature from the Second Temple Period." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 207–223. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- BERNIER, Jonathan. "Stephen K. Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A Critical Analysis of Current Research*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6430_6940.pdf].
- BEYERLE, Stefan. "Review: Siegfried Ostermann, *Die Münzen der Hasmonäer: Ein kritischer Bericht zur Systematik und Chronologie*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 433–435.
- BHAYRO, Siam. "Review: Carol Bakhos, *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6096_6505.pdf].
- BLANTON, Thomas R., IV. *Constructing a New Covenant: Discursive Strategies in the Damascus Document and Second Corinthians*. WUNT 2. Reihe 233. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- BOCCACCINI, Gabriele. "Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 301–327. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- BOCCACCINI, Gabriele. "Where Did Ben Sira Belong? The Canon, Literary Genre, Intellectual Movement, and Social Group of a Zadokite Document." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pépa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 21–41. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- BOND, Helen K. "Standards, Shields and Coins: Jewish Reactions to Aspects of the Roman Cult in the Time of Pilate." In *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, 88–106. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- BONNINGTON, Mark. "Fleeing Idolatry: Social Embodiment of Anti-Idolatry in the First Century." In *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, 107–119. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- BOUSTAN, Ra'anan S. "Review: Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism*." *AJS Review* 32/1 (2008) 169–172.
- BOYD-TAYLOR, Cameron. "In a Mirror, Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 15–31. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- BREMMER, Jan N. "Close Encounters of the Third Kind: Heliodorus in the Temple and Paul on the Road to Damascus." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 367–384. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- BROOKE, George J. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament Ecclesiology." In *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament*, ed. Kent E. Brower and Andy Johnson, 1–18. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- BROOKE, George J. "Moving Mountains: From Sinai to Jerusalem." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 73–89. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- BROOKE, George J. "Review: Magnus Riska, *The House of the Lord: A Study of the Temple Scroll Columns 29:3b–47:18*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6156_6581.pdf].
- BROOKE, George J. "Review: Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *JTS* 59/2 (2008) 742–744.
- BROOKE, George J., Hindy NAJMAN, and Loren T. STUCKENBRUCK, eds. *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- BRUCKER, Ralph. "Observations on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 355–369. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- BYRON, John. "Cain's Rejected Offering: Interpretive Approaches to a Theological Problem." *JSP* 18/1 (2008) 3–22.
- CALDUCH-BENAGES, Núria. "'Cut Her Away from Your Flesh': Divorce in Ben Sira." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 81–95. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- CALLAWAY, Phillip R. "Limitations in Reconstructing Dead Sea Scrolls Manuscripts." *Qumran Chronicle* 16/1–2 (2008) 37–48.
- CALLAWAY, Phillip R. "The Unfinished Temple Scroll: What Should One Do?" *Qumran Chronicle* 16/1–2 (2008) 49–53.
- CAPELLI, Piero. "Three Critical Notes on Sacchi's Reconstruction." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 34–37.
- CAPPELLETTI, Silvia. "Non-Jewish Authors on Galilee." In *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin, 69–81. WUNT 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- CAPPONI, Livia. *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto: Identità politica e religiosa dei Giudei di Onia (c. 150 a.C.–73 d.C.)*. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Dell'Università di Pavia 118. Florence: ETS, 2007.
- CASEY, Maurice. *The Solution to the "Son of Man" Problem*. Library of New Testament Studies 343. London: T & T Clark, 2007.
- CATTO, Stephen K. *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A Critical Analysis of Current Research*. Library of New Testament Studies 363. London: T&T Clark, 2007.

- CHAPMAN, David W. *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion*. WUNT 2. Reihe 244. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- CHARLESWORTH, James H. "Review: Magnus Zetterholm, ed., *The Messiah in Early Judaism and Christianity*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6217_6663.pdf].
- CHARLESWORTH, James H. "What is an Apocalyptic Text, and How Do We Know That: Seeking the Provenience of the *Book of the Watchers*." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 37–41.
- CHAZON, Esther G. "The 'Words of the Luminaries' and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 177–186. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- CHESNUTT, Randall D. "A Good Book Made Better: An Encomium on the Second Edition of George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*." *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 11/1 (2008) 167–175.
- CHIALÀ, Sabino. "Violenza e giudizio divino nella letteratura enochica." *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 20/1–2 (2008) 111–122.
- CHILTON, Bruce. "Paul and the Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 149–173. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- CHRISTIANSSEN, Ellen Juhl. "Election as Identity Term in 1 Peter with a View to a Qumran Background." *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 73 (2008) 39–64.
- CIECIELĄG, Jerzy. "On the Qumran Coins Once Again." *Qumran Chronicle* 15/3–4 (2007) 175–182.
- CLAUSSEN, Carsten, and Michael Thomas DAVIS. "The Concept of Unity at Qumran." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 232–253. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- COHN, Yehudah. "Rabbenu Tam's *tefillin*: an Ancient Tradition or the Product of Medieval Exegesis?" *JSQ* 14/4 (2007) 319–327.
- COLAUTTI, Federico. "Review: Zuleika Rodgers, ed., *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 436–437.
- COLLINS, John J. "Conceptions of Afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Lebendige Hoffnung—ewiger Tod? Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum*, ed. Michael Labahn and Manfred Lang, 103–125. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007.
- COLLINS, John J. "'Enochic Judaism' and the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 283–299. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- COLLINS, John J. "Review: Eileen M. Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?*" *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 312–313.
- COLLINS, Nina L. "Review: Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar, Chronology and Worship: Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*." *NovT* 49/2 (2007) 203–204.
- COOK, Johann. "Ben Sira's Perspective on Women: Jewish and/or Hellenistic?" *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 1–18.

- CORLEY, Jeremy. "Sirah 44:1–15: An Introduction to the Praise of the Ancestors." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 151–181. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- COSTA, Tony. "Review: Geza Vermes, *The Resurrection: History and Myth*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6389_6876.pdf].
- COX, Steven. "Review: Yuzuru Miura, *David in Luke–Acts: His Portrayal in the Light of Early Judaism*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6199_6638.pdf].
- CROWE, Brandon D. "Review: Michael Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke–Acts*." *The Expository Times* 120 (2008) 154.
- DAISE, Michael A. "The Temporal Relationship between the Covenant Renewal Rite and the Initiation Process in 1QS." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 150–160. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- DAMGAARD, Finn. "Brothers in Arms: Josephus' Portrait of Moses in the *Jewish Antiquities* in the Light of his Own Self-Portraits in the *Jewish War* and the *Life*." *JJS* 59/2 (2008) 218–235.
- DAVILA, James R. "Review: Todd E. Klutz, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseud-epigraphon*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 249–251.
- DEANINI, Ferdinand. "Der Hof des Herodes: Zu seiner Struktur und Geschichte." *Historia* 57/3 (2008) 274–297.
- DEMSKY, Aaron. "B'ym (Isa 11:15) = (Bīt-)Bahiān: Resolving an Ancient Crux." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 248–252.
- DENNILL, G. B. "A Descriptive Analysis of the Concepts 'Purity' and 'Holiness' within the Qumran Community and Hare Krishna Movement." *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007) 392–422.
- DENNIS, John A. "Review: Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5514_6626.pdf].
- DESILVA, David A. "The Perfection of 'Love for Offspring': Greek Representations of Maternal Affection and the Achievement of the Heroine of 4 Maccabees." *NTS* 52/2 (2006) 251–268.
- DEVEGA, Jessica Tinklenberg. "Review: William Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6133_6547.pdf].
- DE WET, Chris L. "'O Woman, Who Alone Gave Birth to Such Complete Devotion!' Some Remarks on the *Materfamilias* and Other Women of 1–4 Maccabees." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 33–56.
- DÍEZ MERINO, Luis. "El cordero de Dios en la literatura intertestamental." In *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, 551–568. JSJSup 122. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- DIJKHUIZEN, Pieternella. "Pain, Endurance and Gender in 4 Maccabees." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 57–76.
- DiTOMMASO, Lorenzo. "Pseudepigrapha Notes II: 3. The Contribution of the Manuscript Catalogues of M. R. James." *JSP* 18/2 (2008) 83–160.
- DiTOMMASO, Lorenzo. "Review: Edward Adams, *The Stars Will Fall from Heaven: Cosmic Catastrophe in the New Testament and Its World*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6312_6793.pdf].
- DOERING, Lutz. "Excerpted Texts in Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of the Evidence." In *Selecta colligere II: Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus*, ed. R. M. Piccione and M. Perkams, 1–38. Hellenica: Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica 18. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso, 2005.
- DOERING, Lutz. "Review: Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 447–451.
- DOERING, Lutz, Hans-Günther WAUBKE, and Florian WILK, eds. *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- DOUDNA, Gregory L. "Review: Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document. The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5902_6263.pdf].
- DU TOIT, Marietjie. "The LXX Book of Esther as a Satirical Drama." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 77–95.
- ECK, Werner. *Rom und Judaea: Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- EDITOR. "Bibliography of Florentino García Martínez." In *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, 803–816. *JSJSup* 122. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- EGGER-WENZEL, Renate. "Ein neues Sira-Fragment des MS C." *Biblische Notizen* 138 (2008) 107–114.
- EGO, Beate. "Neuere Gesamtdarstellungen zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums." *Verkündigung und Forschung* 53/1 (2008) 78–85.
- EGO, Beate. "Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation: The Banishment of the Demon in Tobit." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 371–378. *SBLSCS* 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- EHRENKROOK, Jason von. "Sculpture, Space and the Poetics of Idolatry in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*." *JSJ* 39/2 (2008) 170–191.
- ELGVIN, Torleif. "Sixty Years of Qumran Research: Implications for Biblical Studies." *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 73 (2008) 7–28.
- ELLEDGE, Casey D. "The Prince of the Congregation: Qumran 'Messianism' in the Context of *Milhāmā*." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 178–207. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.

- ELLENS, J. Harold. "Exegesis of Second Temple Texts in a Fourth Gospel Son of Man Logion." In *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Isaac Kalimi and Peter J. Haas, 131–149. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 439. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- ELWOLDE, John F. "The Hodayot's Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 1)." In *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oud Testamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, Apeldoorn August 2006*, ed. Bob Becking and Eric Peels, 79–108. Oudtestamentische Studiën, Old Testament Studies 55. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- ESHEL, Hanan. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*. Translated by Aryeh Amihay. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.
- ESHEL, Hanan. "לקט ועוללות של מגילות: כתבים ממדבר יהודה שראו אור בשנים האחרונות [Gleanings from the Judean Desert: Scrolls Discovered in the Past Few Years]." *Cathedra* 128 (2008) 19–50.
- FABRY, Heinz-Josef. "Messianism in the Septuagint." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 193–205. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- FALK, Daniel K. "Scriptural Inspiration for Penitential Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 127–157. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- FEDER, Frank. "The Coptic Version(s) of the Book of Jesus Sirach." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 11–20. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- FINK, Uta Barbara. *Joseph und Aseneth: Revision des griechischen Textes und Edition der zweiten lateinischen Übersetzung*. Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 5. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
- FITZMYER, Joseph A. "Review: George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 289–290.
- FLESHER, LeAnn Snow. "The Use of Female Imagery and Lamentation in the Book of Judith: Penitential Prayer or Petition for Obligatory Action?" In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 83–104. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- FLETCHER-LOUIS, Crispin H. T. "Humanity and the Idols of the Gods in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*." In *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, 58–72. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- FLETCHER-LOUIS, Crispin H. T. "Review: James R. Davila ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 401–403.

- FLOYD, Michael H. "Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period from the Perspective of Baruch." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 51–81. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- FOSTER, Paul. "Review: Andrew Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation: Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology*." *The Expository Times* 119 (2008) 610.
- FUHRMANN, Sebastian. "The Mother in 4 Maccabees: An Example of Rational Choice in Religion." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 96–113.
- FURSTENBERG, Yair. "Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15." *NTS* 54/2 (2008) 176–200.
- GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, Florentino. "Conclusion: Mapping the Threads." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 329–335. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, Florentino. "Qumrân, 60 ans après la découverte." *Qumran Chronicle* 15/3–4 (2007) 111–138.
- GATHERCOLE, Simon. "Review: Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Study: A Guide to the Background Literature*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 251–254.
- GATHERCOLE, Simon. "Review: Stuart Chepey, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of Ancient Jewish Writings, the New Testament, Archaeological Evidence, and Other Writings from Late Antiquity*." *JTS* 59/2 (2008) 740–742.
- GEMÜNDE, Petra von. "Review: Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*." *Numen* 53/2 (2006) 223–227.
- GIANOTTO, Claudio. "Da 'segreto' a 'proibito': Evoluzione del termine 'apocrifo' nel cristianesimo antico." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 41–44.
- GIBSON, Shimon. "Roads and Passes Round Qumran." *PEQ* 140/3 (2008) 225–227.
- GILBERT, Maurice. "The Vetus Latina of Ecclesiasticus." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 1–9. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- GOFF, Matthew J. "Review: James H. Charlesworth ed., *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, 3 vols." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5896_6255.pdf].
- GOLBERG, Shari. "The Two Choruses Become One: The Absence/Presence of Women in Philo's *On the Contemplative Life*." *JSJ* 39/4–5 (2008) 459–470.
- GOODMAN, Martin. "Explaining Change in Judaism in Late Antiquity." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 19–27. *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- GORDLEY, Matthew E. "Creation Imagery in Qumran Hymns and Prayers." *JJS* 59/2 (2008) 252–272.
- GRABBE, Lester L. "Review: Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6119_6533.pdf].
- GRABBE, Lester L. "Review: T. C. Vriezen and Adam S. van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 452–453.
- GRAY, Patrick, and Gail R. O'DAY, eds. *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*. NovTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- GREEN, William Scott. "What Do We Really Know about the Pharisees, and How Do We Know It?" In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 409–423. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- GREGG, Brian Han. "Review: Grant Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6278_6759.pdf].
- GROSSMAN, Maxine L. "Review: Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons, and Lloyd K. Pietersen, eds., *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10th September 2003*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 293–295.
- GUGLIELMO, Lara. "Historical Allusions and Salvific Figures in the Admonitions of the *Damascus Document*: An Intertextual and Historical Interpretation Carried out on the Basis of the Physical Reconstruction of 4Q266." PhD. diss., University of Naples Federico II, 2008.
- GUILLAUME, Philippe. "The Unlikely Malachi–Jonah Sequence (4QXII^a)." *JHS* 7 (2007) [http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_77.pdf].
- GURTNER, Daniel M. "The 'Twenty-Fifth Year of Jeconiah' and the Date of 2 Baruch." *JSP* 18/1 (2008) 23–32.
- HABER, Susan. *"They Shall Purify Themselves": Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*. SBLEJL 24. Atlanta: SBL, 2008.
- HACHLILI, Rachel. "Attitudes Toward the Dead: Protective Measures Employed Against the Desecration of Tombs, Coffins and Ossuaries." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity. Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, 243–255. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- HADAS, Gideon. "Dead Sea Sailing Routes during the Herodian Period." *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 26 (2008) 31–36.
- HAKOLA, Raimo, and Adele REINHARTZ. "John's Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 131–147. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- HARDIN, Justin K. "Review: Finny Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development of Paul's Theology*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6028_6416.pdf].

- HARMON, Matthew S. "Review: Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*." *RBL* (2007) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5514_5809.pdf].
- HARRINGTON, Hannah K. "Review: Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *Encyclopedia of Midrash: Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 309–311.
- HARTSOCK, Chad. *Sight and Blindness in Luke–Acts: The Use of Physical Features in Characterization*. Biblical Interpretation Series 94. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- HEMPEL, Charlotte. "Review: Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 419–420.
- HEMPEL, Charlotte. "Review: Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar, eds., *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 241–244.
- HEMPEL, Charlotte. "Review: Frank M. Cross, Donald W. Parry, and Eugene C. Ulrich, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 244–246.
- HENSHKE, David. "'The Day after the Sabbath' (Lev 23:15): Traces and Origin of an Inter-Sectarian Polemic." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 225–247.
- HENTEN, Jan Willem van. "Jüdisches Märtyrertum und der Tod Jesu." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 146–172. *FRLANT* 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- HENTEN, Jan Willem van. "The *Panegyris* in Jerusalem: Responses to Herod's Initiative (Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.268–291)." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misseret-van de Weg, 151–173. *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- HENTEN, Jan Willem van. "Review: David A. DeSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 399–400.
- HENZE, Matthias. "Review: Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*." *AJS Review* 32/1 (2008) 175–177.
- HENZE, Matthias. "Torah and Eschatology in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 201–215. *Themes in Biblical Narrative* 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- HIMMELFARB, Martha. "Temple and Priests in the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse of Weeks." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 219–235. *JSJSup* 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- HÖFFKEN, Peter. "Einige Beobachtungen zum Juda der Perserzeit in der Darstellung des Josephus, *Antiquitates* Buch 11." *JSJ* 39/2 (2008) 151–169.

- HÖFFKEN, Peter. *Josephus Flavius und das prophetische Erbe Israels*. Lüneburger Theologische Beiträge 4. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006.
- HOGAN, Karina Martin. *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution*. JSJSup 130. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- HOGETERP, Albert L. A. "4QMMT and Paradigms of Second Temple Jewish Nomism." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 359–379.
- HOGETERP, Albert L. A. "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: A Re-Reading of Romans 11:25–32 in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, 653–666. JSJSup 122. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- HOGETERP, Albert L. A. "Review: John J. Collins and Craig A. Evans, eds., *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 392–393.
- HORRELL, David G. "Review: Andrew M. Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile and Identity in 1 Peter*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6310_6791.pdf].
- HORST, Pieter W. van der, and Judith H. NEWMAN. *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
- HOUTMAN, Alberdina, Albert DE JONG, and Magda MISSET-VAN DE WEG, eds. *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- IBBA, Giovanni. "Dal battesimo di Giovanni al perdono cristiano." *Rivista Biblica* 54 (2006) 185–200.
- IBBA, Giovanni. "Enoch at Qumran: The Enochic Roots of the Qumran Community." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 44–48.
- IBBA, Giovanni. "John the Baptist and the Purity Laws of Leviticus 11–16." *Henoch* 28/2 (2006) 79–89.
- IBBA, Giovanni. *Qumran: Correnti del pensiero giudaico (III a.C.–I d.C.)*. Rome: Carocci, 2007.
- ILAN, Tal. "Women in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha." In *A Question of Sex? Gender and Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond*, ed. Deborah W. Rooke, 126–144. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
- JASSEN, Alex P. "The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran." *JBL* 127/2 (2008) 307–337.
- JASSEN, Alex P. "Teaching and Learning Guide for: Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Religion Compass* 2/5 (2008) 882–888 [<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/121387494/abstract?CRETRY=1&SRETRY=0>].
- JENSEN, Morten Hørning. "Message and Minting: The Coins of Herod Antipas in their Second Temple Context as a Source for Understanding the Religio-Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics of Early First Century Galilee." In *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W.

- Attridge and Dale B. Martin, 277–313. WUNT 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- JOHNS, Loren L. “Identity and Resistance: The Varieties of Competing Models in Early Judaism.” In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 254–277. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- JOKIRANTA, Jutta. “Review: Eileen M. Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?*” *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 441–442.
- JORDAAN, Pierre J. “Clarifying the Thesis of 1 Esdras 3 and 4 that ‘Women Are the Strongest’ through Cognitive Linguistics.” *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 19–32.
- JORDAAN, Pierre J. “Reading Susanna as Therapeutic Narrative.” *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 114–128.
- KAPERA, Zdzisław Jan. “A Preliminary List of Improvements and Corrections to a Short Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls Discoveries.” *Qumran Chronicle* 15/3–4 (2007) 157–174.
- KEITH, Pierre. “Review: Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, eds., *The Book of Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology (Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005)*.” *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5900_6261.pdf].
- KISTER, Menahem. “‘In Adam’: 1 Cor 15:21–22, 12:27 in Their Jewish Setting.” In *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, 685–690. *JSJSup* 122. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- KISTER, Menahem. “*Tohu wa-Bohu*, Primordial Elements and *Creatio ex Nihilo*.” *JSQ* 14/3 (2007) 229–256.
- KLOPPENBORG, John S. “The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE–I CE).” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51/1 (2008) 31–66.
- KNIBB, Michael A. “The Book of Enoch or Books of Enoch? The Textual Evidence for *1 Enoch*.” In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 21–40. *JSJSup* 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- KNOHL, Israel. “The Messiah Son of Joseph: *Gabriel’s Revelation* and the Birth of a New Messianic Model.” *BAR* (2008) [<http://www.bib-arch.org/bar/article.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=34&Issue=5&ArticleID=14>].
- KNOHL, Israel. “עיונים בחזון גבריאל” [Studies in the *Gabriel Revelation*].” *Tarbiz* 76/3–4 (2007) 303–328.
- KOCH, Klaus. “The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time, Universal History, and the Eschatological Turn in the Astronomical Book and the Animal Apocalypse of *1 Enoch*.” In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 119–137. *JSJSup* 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- KOSKENNIEMI, Erkki. “Review: Pierluigi Lanfranchi, *L’Exagoge d’Ezéchiel le Tragique: Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire*.” *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 419–420.

- KRAUTER, Stefan. "Review: Timothy H. Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 417–418.
- KREUZER, Siegfried. "From 'Old Greek' to the Recensions: Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Reference Text of the Septuagint?" In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 225–237. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- KVANVIG, Helge S. "Cosmic Laws and Cosmic Imbalance: Wisdom, Myth and Apocalyptic in Early Enochic Writings." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 139–158. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- KVANVIG, Helge S. "Enoch: From Sage to Visionary Apocalyptist." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 48–51.
- KVANVIG, Helge S. "Review: Andrew R. Angel, *Chaos and the Son of Man: The Hebrew Chaokampf Tradition in the Period 515 BCE to 200 CE*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 374–375.
- LANFRANCHI, Pierluigi. *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique: Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire*. SVTP 21. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- LANGE, Armin. "'The Law, the Prophets, and the Other Books of the Fathers' (Sir, Prologue): Canonical Lists in Ben Sira and Elsewhere." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 55–80. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- LARSON, Erik. "Review: James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees*." *AJS Review* 31/1 (2007) 182–185.
- LEGASPI, Michael C. "Job's Wives in the *Testament of Job*: A Note on the Synthesis of Two Traditions." *JBL* 127/1 (2008) 71–79.
- LÉMONON, Jean-Pierre. "Heur et malheur d'un préfet de Judée." *Le Monde de la Bible* 182 (2008) 19–23.
- LEMONS, T. M. "Review: Johanna Dorman, *The Blemished Body: Deformity and Disability in the Qumran Scrolls*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5911_6274.pdf].
- LENZI, Giovanni. "Talah in Pre-Mishnaic Halakhah." *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 11/1 (2008) 33–48.
- LEVINE, Amy-Jill. "Luke's Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 113–130. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- LICHTENBERGER, Hermann. "Schöpfung und Ehe in Texten aus Qumran sowie Essenerberichten und die Bedeutung für das Neue Testament." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 279–288. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- LICHTENBERGER, Hermann. "The Untold End: 2 Maccabees and Acts." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 385–403. *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- LICONA, Michael R. "Review: Geza Vermes, *The Resurrection: History and Myth*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6389_6875.pdf].
- LIED, Liv Ingeborg. *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*. JSJSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- LIER, G. E. "Another Look at the Role of Priests and Rabbis after the Destruction of the Second Temple." *Journal for Semitics* 16/1 (2007) 87–112.
- LIGHTSTONE, Jack N. "The Pharisees and the Sadducees in the Earliest Rabbinic Documents." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 255–295. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- LIM, Timothy H. "Deuteronomy in the Judaism of the Second Temple Period." In *Deuteronomy in the New Testament: The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 6–26. Library of New Testament Studies 358. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- LINCICUM, David. "Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period." *Biblische Notizen* 138 (2008) 63–87.
- LINCOLN, Levi R. "Jewish Banditry and Peasant Protest Movements, 6–66 CE: A Comparative Approach." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 219–239.
- LIPTON, Diana. "Review: Carol Bakhos, *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 312–316.
- LITTMAN, Robert J. *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*. Septuagint Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- LOADER, William R. G. "Attitudes towards Sexuality in Qumran and Related Literature—and the New Testament." *NTS* 54/3 (2008) 338–354.
- LOURIÉ, Basil. "Calendrical Implications in the Epistle to the Hebrews." *RB* 115/2 (2008) 245–265.
- LOUW, Theo A. W. van der. "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version." *JSJ* 39/2 (2008) 211–229.
- MAGNESS, Jodi. "The Arch of Titus at Rome and the Fate of the God of Israel." *JJS* 59/2 (2008) 201–217.
- MAIER, Johann. "Review: Judith A. Brown, *John Marco Allegro: The Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 291–292.
- MARCIAK, Michał. "Odkrycia w Wadi Dalijeh a Samaria w okresie perskim [Discoveries in Wadi Dalijeh and Samaria in the Persian Period]." *Studia Judaica* 11/1 (2008) 1–29.
- MARQUIS, Timothy Luckritz. "Re-Presenting Galilean Identity: Josephus's use of 1 Maccabees 10:25–45 and the Term *Ioudaios*." In *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin, 55–67. WUNT 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- MARSHALL, John W. "John's Jewish (Christian?) Apocalypse." In *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts*, ed. Matt Jackson-McCabe, 233–256. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007.
- MARTONE, Corrado. "The Enochic Tradition and the Diversity of Second Temple Judaism." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 51–55.

- MASON, Eric F. "Review: Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6012_6400.pdf].
- MASON, Steve. "Josephus's Pharisees: The Narratives." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 3–40. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- MASON, Steve. "Josephus's Pharisees: The Philosophy." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 41–66. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- MASON, Steve. *Judean War 1–4, Volume 1B, Judean War 2: Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- MBUVI, Andrew M. *Temple, Exile and Identity in 1 Peter*. Library of New Testament Studies 345. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- MCCANE, Byron R. "Jewish Ossuaries of the Early Roman Period: Continuity and Change in Death Ritual." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity. Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, 235–242. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- MCDONALD, Lee Martin. "Review: Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6011_6720.pdf].
- MILLER, John B. Faulkenberry. "4QLXXLev^a and Proto-Septuagint Studies: Reassessing Qumran Evidence for the *Urtext* Theory." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 1–28. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- MITCHELL, David C. "A Dying and Rising Josephite Messiah in 4Q372." *JSP* 18/3 (2009) 181–205.
- MOHRMANN, Douglas C. "Review: Gregory L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 408–413.
- MROCEK, Eva. "Moses, David and Scribal Revelation: Preservation and Renewal in Second Temple Jewish Textual Traditions." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 91–115. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- MURAOKA, Takamitsu. "Review: Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik/Wörterbuch, Deutsch–aramäische Wortliste, Register*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 285–288.
- MURPHY-O'CONNOR, Jerome. "Das Herz Jerusalems zur Zeit Jesu: Auf der Suche nach den Spuren des Tempels." *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 44 (2007) 12–15.
- MURPHY-O'CONNOR, Jerome. "Review: Russell Gmirkin, *Berosus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch*." *RB* 114/4 (2007) 615–630.

- NAJMAN, Hindy. "Review: Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions*." *AJS Review* 30/2 (2006) 448–451.
- NAUDÉ, Jacobus A. "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), the Netherworld and the Body." *Journal for Semitics* 15/2 (2006) 372–384.
- NEED, Stephen. "What Was the Qumran Sect and Did Jesus Share Their Beliefs?" In *Decoding Early Christianity: Truth and Legend in the Early Church*, ed. Leslie Houlden, 79–92. Oxford: Greenwood Press, 2007.
- NEUSNER, Jacob. "The Pharisaic Agenda: Laws Attributed in the Mishnah and the Tosefta to Pre-70 Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 313–327. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- NEUSNER, Jacob. "The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70 CE: An Overview." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 297–311. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- NEWMAN, Judith H. "The Composition of Prayers and Songs in Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa*." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 457–468. *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- NEWMAN, Judith H. "The Form and Settings of the Prayer of Manasseh." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 105–125. *SBLEJL* 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- NEWMAN, Judith H. "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 29–72. *Themes in Biblical Narrative* 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- NEWSOM, Carol A. "Review: Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*; Florentino García Martínez, ed., *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 298–305.
- NICKELSBURG, George W. E. "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 81–94. *JSJSup* 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- NICKLAS, Tobias. "Review: Benjamin Schließer, *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4: Paul's Concept of Faith in Light of the History of Reception of Genesis 15:6*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 438–440.
- NICLÓS, José-Vicente. "Harbel y 'arbel: La espada qumránica y el valle escatológico de *El libro de Zorobabel*." *Estudios Bíblicos* 64/3–4 (2006) 369–389.
- NIEHOFF, Maren R. "Questions and Answers in Philo and *Genesis Rabbah*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 337–366.

- NITZAN, Bilhah. "Traditional and Atypical Motifs in Penitential Prayers from Qumran." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 187–208. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- NOAM, Vered. "The Dual Strategy of Rabbinic Purity Legislation." *JSJ* 39/4–5 (2008) 471–512.
- NODET, Étienne. "De Josué à Jésus, via Qumrân et le 'pain quotidien.'" *RB* 114/2 (2007) 208–236.
- NORIN, Stig, ed. *Qumranfynden 60 år [Sixty Years of Qumran Research]*. Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 73. Uppsala: Uppsala Exegetiska Sällskap, 2008.
- NOVAKOVIC, Lidija. "4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?" In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 208–231. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- NOVAKOVIC, Lidija. "Review: Kevin L. Anderson, 'But God Raised Him from the Dead': The Theology of Jesus' Resurrection in Luke–Acts." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6246_6699.pdf].
- NOVICK, Tzvi. "The Meaning and Etymology of אֵרֶץ." *JBL* 127/2 (2008) 339–343.
- OLSSON, Birger. "Review: Stephen K. Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A Critical Analysis of Current Research*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6430_6939.pdf].
- ORLOV, Andrei A. "'The Gods of My Father Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and the Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *JSP* 18/1 (2008) 33–53.
- ORLOV, Andrei A. "In the Mirror of the Divine Face: The Enochic Features of the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 183–199. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- ORLOV, Andrei A. "Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *JBL* 127/1 (2008) 53–70.
- OSTERMANN, Siegfried. *Die Münzen der Hasmonäer: Ein kritischer Bericht zur Systematik und Chronologie*. NTOA 55. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.
- OTTENHEIM, Eric. "The Phrase 'Good Works' in Early Judaism: A Universal Code for the Jewish Law?" In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 485–506. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- PARK, Hyung Dae. *Finding Herem? A Study of Luke–Acts in the Light of Herem*. Library of New Testament Studies 357. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- PEARCE, Sarah. "Review: John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion: Translation and Commentary*." *JSOT* 32/5 (2008) 199–200.

- PEARSON, Birger A. "Review: Augusto Cosentino, *Il battesimo gnostico: Dottrine, simboli e riti iniziatici nello gnosticismo*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6339_6816.pdf].
- PEERBOLTE, Bert Jan Lietaert. "Jewish Monotheism and Christian Origins." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 227–246. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- PENTIUC, Eugen J. "'Renewed by Blood': Sheol's Quest in 2 Baruch 56:6." *RB* 114/4 (2007) 535–564.
- PFANN, Stephen J. "Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves: Libraries, Archives, 'Genizas' and Hiding Places." *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 25 (2007) 147–170.
- PICKUP, Martin. "Matthew's and Mark's Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 67–112. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- PIOVANELLI, Pierluigi. "Review: Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*." *Numen* 55/4 (2008) 489–493.
- PIOVANELLI, Pierluigi. "'Sitting by the Waters of Dan,' or the 'Tricky Business' of Tracing the Social Profile of the Communities that Produced the Earliest Enochic Texts." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 257–281. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- PITRE, Brant. *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*. WUNT 2.204. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- PLIETZSCH, Susanne. "Review: Karen Strand Winslow, *Early Jewish and Christian Memories of Moses' Wives: Exogamist Marriage and Ethnic Identity*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 443–444.
- POPOVIĆ, Mladen. "Review: Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Study: A Guide to the Background Literature*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 414–416.
- PORTER, Adam L. "What Sort of Jews Were the Tobiads?" In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity*. *Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, 141–150. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- PUECH, Émile. "Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament." *Estudios Bíblicos* 64/3–4 (2006) 337–368.
- REED, Annette Yoshiko. "The Origins of the *Book of the Watchers* as 'Apocalypse' and Its Reception as 'Apocryphon'." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 55–60.
- REGEV, Eyal. "Cherchez les femmes: Were the *yaḥad* Celibates?" *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 253–284.
- REGEV, Eyal. "Hanukkah and the Temple of the Maccabees: Ritual and Ideology from Judas Maccabeus to Simon." *JSQ* 15/2 (2008) 87–114.
- REITERER, Friedrich Vinzenz. "Das Verhältnis der תורה zur חכמה im Buch Ben Sira: Kriterien zur gegenseitigen Bestimmung." In *Studies in the*

- Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 97–133. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- REYNOLDS, Benjamin E. "Another Suggestion for $\omega\varsigma$ παλαιος ημερων in the Old Greek of Dan 7:13." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 94–103.
- REYNOLDS, Bennie H. "Review: Casey D. Elledge, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 296–297.
- RIETZ, Henry W. Morisada. "Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as a Test Case." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 29–52. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- ROCCA, Samuel. *Herod's Judaea: A Mediterranean State in the Classical World*. TSAJ 122. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- RODGERS, Zuleika. "Josephus' *Theokratia* and Mosaic Discourse: The Actualization of the Revelation at Sinai." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 129–148. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- RÖLVER, Olaf. "Jesus im 'Haus seines Vaters': Der Tempel in den Evangelien." *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 44 (2007) 20–23.
- RÖMER, Thomas Christian. "Moses Outside the Torah and the Construction of a Diaspora Identity." *JHS* 8 (2008) [http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_92.pdf].
- ROOKE, Deborah W. "Review: Maria Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 219–221.
- ROSEN-ZVI, Ishay. "Two Rabbinic Inclinations? Rethinking a Scholarly Dogma." *JSJ* 39/4–5 (2008) 513–539.
- ROUWHORST, Gerard, and Marcel J. H. M. POORTHUIS. "'Why Do the Nations Conspire?' Psalm 2 in Post-Biblical Jewish and Christian Traditions." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 425–453. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- RUNIA, David T. "Worshipping the Visible Gods: Conflict and Accommodation in Hellenism, Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 47–61. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- SACCHI, Paolo. "Measuring Time Among the Jews: The Zadokite Priesthood, Enochism, and the Lay Tendencies of the Maccabean Period." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 95–118. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- SALEY, Richard J. "Greek Lucianic Doublets and 4QSam." *BIOSCS* 40 (2007) 63–73.

- SALVESEN, Alison. "Review: Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 307–310.
- SALVESEN, Alison. "Review: Michael A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism: Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense LIII, July 27–29, 2004*." *JTS* 59/2 (2008) 735–738.
- SÁNCHEZ CARO, José Manuel. "Inspiración y canon en 4 Esd 14, 1–50: Intento de revisión." *Estudios Bíblicos* 64/3–4 (2006) 671–697.
- SATLOW, Michael L. "Philo on Human Perfection." *JTS* 59/2 (2008) 500–519.
- SAWYER, John F. A. "Review: Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 232–234.
- SCHATTNER-RIESER, Ursula. "J. T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi and the Reconstructed Aramaic text of the Prayer of Levi and the Vision of Levi's Ascent to Heaven from Qumran Caves 4 and 1." *Qumran Chronicle* 15/3–4 (2007) 139–154.
- SCHATTNER-RIESER, Ursula. "Remarques préliminaires sur le Testament de Lévi, monographie inachevée de J. T. Milik et quelques restitutions du document araméen supposé originel (4Q213a frag. 1–2)." *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 6/1 (2007) 113–121.
- SCHIFFMAN, Lawrence H. *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll*. STDJ 75. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- SCHORCH, Stefan. "The Pre-Eminence of the Hebrew Language and the Emerging Concept of the 'Ideal Text' in Late Second Temple Judaism." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pépa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 43–54. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- SCHREMER, Adiel. "Midrash, Theology, and History: Two Powers in Heaven Revisited." *JSJ* 39/2 (2008) 230–254.
- SCHREMER, Adiel. "Review: Eyal Regev, *The Sadducees and Their Halakhah*." *AJS Review* 30/2 (2006) 445–448.
- SCHULLER, Eileen M. "Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: A Research Survey." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 1–15. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- SCHULLER, Eileen M. "Review: Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*." *JSJ* 40/1 (2009) 74–75.
- SCHULTZ, Brian. "Review: Daniel Brizemeure, Noël Lacoudre, Émile Puech, and Jean-Michel Poffet, *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15): Expertise—Restauration—Épigraphie*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5888_6246.pdf].
- SCHWARTZ, Daniel R. *2 Maccabees*. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.

- SCHWARTZ, Daniel R. "On Pharisees and Sadducees in the Mishnah: From Composition Criticism to History." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 133–145. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- SCHWARTZ, Daniel R. "Review: Aryeh Kasher with Eliezer Witztum, *King Herod: A Persecuted Persecutor. A Case Study in Psychohistory and Psychobiography*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 409–411.
- SCOTT, Steven Richard. "The Binitarian Nature of the Book of Similitudes." *JSP* 18/1 (2008) 55–78.
- SELAND, Torrey. "Review: Naomi G. Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings: Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6391_6879.pdf].
- SEN, Felipe. "Historia del manuscrito 4QMMT." *Estudios Bíblicos* 64/3–4 (2006) 699–700.
- SEN, Felipe. "Review: Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives, eds., *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*." *Gerión* 25 (2007) 204–211.
- SEN, Felipe. "Review: Paolo Sacchi, *Historia del judaísmo en la época del Segundo Templo*." *Estudios Bíblicos* 65 (2007) 402–403.
- SEN, Felipe. "Spanish Bibliography on the Dead Sea Scrolls (IV): Addenda 1987–2008." *Qumran Chronicle* 16/1–2 (2008) 55–63.
- SETERS, John Van. "Review: Russell Gmirkin, *Berosus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Penta-teuch*." *JTS* 59/1 (2008) 212–214.
- SHEMESH, Aharon. "The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the *Rule of the Community* and *Damascus Document*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 191–224.
- SHEMESH, Aharon. "מגילה 4Q265 מעמדו של ספר היובלים בעדת היחד" [4Q265 and the *Book of Jubilees*]." *Zion* 73/1 (2008) 5–20.
- SIEVERS, Joseph. "Vittoria nel martirio e vittoria con la spada: Aspetti della violenza nella tradizione maccabaica." *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 20/1–2 (2008) 81–94.
- SIGISMUND, Marcus. "Small Change? Coins and Weights as a Mirror of Ethnic, Religious and Political Identity in First and Second Century C.E. Tiberias." In *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin, 315–336. WUNT 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- SIVERTSEV, Alexei. "Review: Steven Weitzman, *Surviving Sacrilege: Cultural Persistence in Jewish Antiquity*." *AJS Review* 30/2 (2006) 435–440.
- SPRINKLE, Preston. "The Afterlife in Romans: Understanding Paul's Glory Motif in Light of the Apocalypse of Moses and 2 Baruch." In *Lebendige Hoffnung—ewiger Tod? Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum*, ed. Michael Labahn and Manfred Lang, 201–233. Leipzig: Evangelische, 2007.
- STACEY, David. "Seasonal Industries at Qumran." *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 26 (2008) 7–29.

- STADEL, Christian. "Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer." M.A. thesis, Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg, 2007.
- STADEL, Christian. *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer*. Schriften der Hochschule für jüdische studien Heidelberg 11. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2008.
- STEMBERGER, Günter. "Review: Paolo Sacchi, *Regola della Comunità. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 181–182.
- STENSCHKE, Christoph. "Review: Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin, eds., *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6611_7163.pdf].
- STEUDEL, Annette. "Die Heiligung des Gottesnamens im Vaterunser." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 242–256. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- STEYN, Gert Jacobus. "'Beautiful but Tough': A Comparison of LXX Esther, Judith and Susanna." *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 156–181.
- STOKES, Ryan E. "The Throne Visions of Daniel 7, *I Enoch* 14, and the Qumran *Book of Giants* (4Q530): An Analysis of Their Literary Relationship." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 340–358.
- STRANGE, James F. "Archaeology and the Pharisees." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 237–251. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- STRAWN, Brent A. "Excerpted 'Non-Biblical' Scrolls at Qumran? Background, Analogies, Function." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 65–123. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- STRAWN, Brent A., and Henry W. Morisada RIETZ. "(More) Sectarian Terminology in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: The Case of תמימי דרך." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 53–64. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- STUCKENBRUCK, Loren T. "The Early Traditions Related to *I Enoch* from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 41–63. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- STUCKENBRUCK, Loren T. "Messianic Ideas in the Apocalyptic and Related Literature of Early Judaism." In *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 90–113. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- STUCKENBRUCK, Loren T. "Temporal Shifts from Text to Interpretation: Concerning the Use of the Perfect and Imperfect in the *Habakkuk Peshier* (1QpHab)." In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 124–149. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- SUTER, David W. "Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch Tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed.

- Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 195–218. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- SWANSON, Dwight D. "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Priorities of Faith." In *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament*, ed. Kent E. Brower and Andy Johnson, 19–39. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- TAL, Oren. "ארץ ישראל בתקופה ההלניסטית: היבט ארכיאולוגי" [Eretz-Israel during the Hellenistic Period: An Archaeological Perspective]. *Qadmoniot* 133 (2007) 2–14.
- TASSIN, Claude. "Un grand prêtre idéal? Traditions juives anciennes sur Pinhas." *REJ* 167/1–2 (2008) 1–22.
- TAYLOR, Joan E. "Philo of Alexandria on the Essenes: A Case Study of the Use of Classical Sources in Discussions of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis." *Studia Philonica Annual* 19 (2007) 1–28.
- TAYLOR, Joan E. "Pontius Pilate and the Imperial Cult in Roman Judaea." *NTS* 52/4 (2006) 555–582.
- TAYLOR, Joan E. "Review: Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*." *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 25 (2007) 171–183.
- THIESSEN, Matthew. "4Q372 1 and the Continuation of Joseph's Exile." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 380–395.
- TIEMEYER, Lena-Sofia. "Review: Maria Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6095_6504.pdf].
- TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J. C. "The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-edition of 4Q468i (*4QSectarian Text?*)." In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misser-van de Weg, 347–357. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J. C. "Review: Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Dead Sea 'New Jerusalem' Text*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 404–407.
- TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J. C. "Review: Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, eds., *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 394.
- TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J. C. "Review: Siam Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 376–378.
- TIGCHELAAR, Eibert J. C. "Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1 Enoch." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 177–193. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- TILLER, Patrick. "The Sociological Settings of the Components of 1 Enoch." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 237–255. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- TIMMER, Daniel C. "Sinai 'Revisited' Again: Further Reflections on the Appropriation of Exodus 19–Numbers 10 in 1QS." *RB* 115/4 (2008) 481–498.

- TOMASINO, Anthony J. "Oracles of Insurrection: The Prophetic Catalyst of the Great Revolt." *JJS* 59/1 (2008) 86–111.
- TONIETTI, Maria Vittoria. "Enochic and Babylonian Traditions: Some Proposals." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 60–66.
- TOV, Emanuel. "The LXX Translation of Esther: A Paraphrastic Translation of MT or a Free Translation of a Rewritten Version?" In *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg, 507–526. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- TSO, Marcus. "The Giving of the Torah at Sinai and the Ethics of the Qumran Community." In *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 117–127. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- TURKIEL, Jan. "Sirach's Critique of the Ruler (Sir 9:17–10:26)." *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 5/2 (2006) 121–132.
- UPTON, Bridget Gilfillan. "Review: Paul M. Fullmer, *Resurrection in Mark's Literary-Historical Perspective*." *The Expository Times* 120 (2008) 154–155.
- URCIUOLI, Emiliano Rubens. "Review: Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity*." *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 178–181.
- UTZSCHNEIDER, Helmut. "Flourishing Bones: The Minor Prophets in the New Testament." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 273–292. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- VAN DER WALT, Charl Pretorius. "The Prayers of Esther (LXX) and Judith against Their Social Backgrounds: Evidence of a Possible Common *Grundlage*?" *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008) 194–206.
- VANDERKAM, James C. "Mapping Second Temple Judaism." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 1–20. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- VANDERKAM, James C. "The Pharisees and the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton, 225–236. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- VENTER, Pieter M. "Daniel 9: A Penitential Prayer in Apocalyptic Garb." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 33–49. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- VERMES, Geza. *The Resurrection: History and Myth*. New York: Doubleday, 2008.
- VIELHAUER, Roman. "Review: Matthias Henze, ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*." *DSD* 15/2 (2008) 306–308.
- VOLGGER, David. *Der Opferkalender der Tempelrolle: eine Untersuchung zu 11Q19 Kolumne 13–30*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 79. St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 2006.

- WADDELL, James A. "Enoch and the Enoch Tradition: A Bibliography, 2000–Present." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 337–347. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- WAUBKE, Hans-Günther. "Die talmudische *Haberim*: Halacha und die Pharisäer." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 108–132. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- WEIGOLD, Matthias. "Noah in the Praise of the Fathers: The Flood Story in nuce." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 229–244. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- WEIGOLD, Matthias. "Review: Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*." *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 397–400.
- WEISSENBERG, Hanne von. "Review: Kristin De Troyer, and Armin Lange, eds., *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*." *JSJ* 39/3 (2008) 401–404.
- WELLMANN, Bettina. "Qumran: Eine Geschichte wird neu erzählt." *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 41 (2006) 2–9.
- WERLINE, Rodney A. "Prayer, Politics, and Social Vision in Daniel 9." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 17–32. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- WERLINE, Rodney A. "Reflections on Penitential Prayer: Definition and Form." In *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Jerusalem*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline, 209–225. SBLEJL 25. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- WERRETT, Ian. "Review: Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts*." *RBL* (2008) [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6012_6723.pdf].
- WILK, Florian. "Die synoptischen Evangelien des Neun Testaments als Quellen für die Geschichte der Pharisäer." In *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte—Grenzen—Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Hans-Günther Waubke and Florian Wilk, 85–107. FRLANT 226. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- WINTER, Michael M. "Theological Alterations in the Syriac Translation of Ben Sira." *CBQ* 70/2 (2008) 300–312.
- WISE, Carol Selkin. "*Miqwaôt* and Second Temple Sectarianism." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity. Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, 181–200. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- WOJCIECHOWSKI, Michał. "Moral Teaching of 1 and 2 Maccabees." *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 6/1 (2007) 65–75.
- WOLD, Benjamin G. "Family Ethics in *4QInstruction* and the New Testament." *NovT* 50/3 (2008) 286–300.

- WOLFF, Christian. "Die *Paralipomena Jeremiae* und das Neue Testament." *NTS* 51/1 (2005) 123–136.
- WOLTERS, Albert M. "The Messiah in the Qumran Documents." In *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 75–89. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- WOODEN, R. Glenn. "Interlinearity in 2 Esdras: A Test Case." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 119–144. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- WRIGHT, Benjamin G. III. "1 Enoch and Ben Sira: Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Relationship." In *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, 159–176. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- WRIGHT, Benjamin G. III. *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction: Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, the Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint*. JSJSup 131. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- WRIGHT, Benjamin G. III. "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo." In *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 47–61. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- WRIGHT, Benjamin G. III. "The Use and Interpretation of Biblical Tradition in Ben Sira's Praise of the Ancestors." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 183–207. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- XERAVITS, Géza G., and József ZSENGELLÉR, eds. *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- YARDENI, Ada. "A New Dead Sea Scroll in Stone?" *BAR* (2008) [<http://www.bib-arch.org/archive.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=34&Issue=1&ArticleID=16&extraID=14>].
- YARDENI, Ada, and Binyamin ELITZUR. "טקסט נבואי על אבן מן המאה הראשונה לפסה"נ: הודעה ראשונה [Document: A First-Century BCE Prophetic Text Written on a Stone: First Publication]." *Cathedra* 123 (2007) 155–166.
- ZAHN, Molly M. "The Problem of Characterizing the 4QRevised Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?" *DSD* 15/3 (2008) 315–339.
- ZANGENBERG, Jürgen, Harold W. ATTRIDGE, and Dale B. MARTIN, eds. *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*. WUNT 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- ZETTERHOLM, Magnus, ed. *The Messiah in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.
- ZEVI, Tamar. "Nominal Clauses in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *JJS* 59/2 (2008) 273–291.

- ZSENGELLÉR, József. "Does Wisdom Come from the Temple? Ben Sira's Attitude to the Temple of Jerusalem." In *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, 135–149. JSJSup 127. Leiden: Brill, 2008.